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Title:

Christian-Muslim Relations among the Internally Displaced Persons in Khartoum
Case of Mandela and Wad Al-Bashir Camps

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DEDICATION

To the people of my home country. In their rich plurality and their diversity of cultures, races, territories, arts and beliefs. A small stone seeks to stir a million square mile wide lake. For a day, soon to come, when they know how to live together in peace and tolerance.

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I always thought that a beginner needs help. It, of late, proved correct that she or he needs sympathy as well. In pleasure, when I look back through the last two years, it appears to me that I was extremely lucky to entertain both assistance and alliance. Those rich two years passed smoothly because limitless help and sympathy have been offered to me by institutions and by individuals too. I arrive now to the moment when I feel obliged to express my gratitude to them all. Yet between tens of those who offered me their invaluable support, I mention only a few and I shall continue to, equally, be indebted to the others with unuttered thanks. The institutions were the platforms where the individuals acted. The Peace Research Institute of The University of Khartoum was the first gateway that introduced me to the academic sphere. To its director, Dr. Altayeb Haj Attya I present sincere thanks. The Volkswagen Foundation's Initiative in Sub-Saharan Africa deserves special gratitude. Their generous funding availed the crucially needed material resources by which a practicable research idea can come to reality. The University of Bayreuth provided the proper scholastic climate. That respectable school offered the due care and follow up to upgrade the skills of its guest junior scholars. Faithfulness and loyalty are the least reward I can offer to meet that.

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ABSTRACT

There is a tendency in the Sudan to define the Sudanese conflict along religious lines, as Muslims versus Christians. This thesis examines the relationship among displaced communities of different faiths and how they consider the issues that unite or divide them.

A fundamental question is -thus-: Is religion a dividing factor in the displaced camps? What are the concerns of displaced people about religious relations in their daily lives? Do the government and its institutions impose particular behavior; that is problematic to social interaction of displaced communities?

The research findings are based on a field-work administered in two of the largest Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps in Khartoum. Namely, Mandela and Wad al-Bashir. The camps are cosmopolitan and are a melting pot of different cultures and religions. The primary data has been collected using the method of individual and group interviews as well as personal observation. The researcher used Snow-ball sampling because the population is extremely large and scattered over a large geographical area.

This research demonstrated that, religious faith constitutes no barrier to mutual interaction and that in real life neither Islam nor Christianity constitutes ideological cleavages. The displaced people feel no differences among themselves along religious lines in their daily life. Factors of conflict hang up at the national and governmental levels. The majority of respondents of both religions agree that religion is manipulated as an instrument of political interest. Other factors such as

religious institutions and community members play lesser roles in the use of religion for other purposes.

On the contrary these religions constitute obvious differences in formal circles, namely governmental and administrative levels, as well as among political organizations. Here, at those levels there are barriers between Christianity and Islam and vice versa. Frequently actors in the political and hierarchy of society utilize religion for their own interests.

The study showed that many Christians view Public Order Laws as critical factors in Christian/Muslim relations in the camps. Both Christians and Muslims agree on the occurrence of conflicts between Christians and State institutions. The reality is that the Church and the State are frequently at odds over development policy, confiscation of Church properties and demolition of Church buildings by the authorities under the guise of town planning. It is also noted that inter-communal violence is potentially eminent when a religious property is under the threat of destruction and/or confiscation. This is the situation when authorities of Khartoum State had confiscated Church premises and when many important parish centers were destroyed inside and outside the IDP camps.

The research revealed that political attitude and behavior go contrary to the popular trends in inter-faith practice in the camp communities. The analysis of the perceptions of Christian-Muslim relations at this level shows that they should be valued, promoted and institutionalized by political actors namely the governments and political parties.

ملخص الدراسة

هناك اتجاه في السودان الى تحديد النزاع السوداني في اتجاه الخط الديني ، أي المسلمين مقابل المسيحيين. تبحث هذه الأطروحة العلاقة بين المجتمعات المحلية للنازحين من مختلف الأديان وتحاول الدراسة النظر في القضايا التي توحد أو تفرق بينهم. والسؤال الأساسي للبحث هو: هل الدين هو عامل تقسيم في معسكرات النازحين؟ ما هي مخاوف أو اهتمامات النازحين عن الدين في علاقاتهم و حياتهم اليومية؟ هل الحكومة ومؤسساتها تفرض سلوك معين يعتبر أو يؤدي إلى أن إشكالية في التفاعل الاجتماعي لمجتمعات النازحين؟

تأسست نتائج البحث على العمل الميداني الذي تمت إدارته في اثنين من أكبر معسكرات النازحين داخليا في الخرطوم وهما مانديلا وود البشير. وهي معسكرات مختلطة وبوتقة تنصهر فيها مختلف الثقافات والأديان. البيانات الأولية تم جمعها باستخدام أسلوب المقابلات الفردية والجماعية فضلا عن أداة الملاحظة الشخصية. في أخذ العينات استخدم الباحث أسلوب الكرة الجليدية كأسلوب لأخذ العينة Snow-ball sampling لأن عدد السكان كبير في المنطقة وموزع على مساحة جغرافية واسعة.

هذا البحث أظهر أن العقيدة الدينية لا تشكل عائقا أمام التفاعل المتبادل وأنه في الحياة الواقعية لا الإسلام ولا المسيحية تشكل انقسامات أيديولوجية. لا يشعر الناس في معسكرات النازحين بوجود خلافات بينهم من الناحية الدينية في حياتهم اليومية. عوامل الصراع تظهر على الصعيدين الإداري والحكومي. غالبية المبحوثين من مختلف الأديان تتفق على أن الدين يستخدم كأداة تلاعب للمصلحة السياسية. عوامل أخرى مثل المؤسسات الدينية وأعضاء من المجتمع المحلي يلعبون أدوار أقل في استخدام الدين لأغراض أخرى.

يشكل الدين نقطة خلاف واضحة في الدوائر الرسمية ، وهي المستويات الحكومية والإدارية ، وكذلك فيما بين المنظمات السياسية. هنا ، في تلك المستويات هناك حواجز بين المسيحية والاسلام والعكس صحيح. وكثيرا ما تجد أن الجهات الفاعلة في المجالات السياسية والتسلسل الهرمي للمجتمع تستفيد من الدين كآلية لتحقيق مصالح خاصة. وأظهرت الدراسة أن العديد من المسيحيين يعتبرون أن قوانين النظام العام من العوامل الحاسمة في العلاقات بين المسلمين والمسيحيين. إتفق كل من المسيحيين والمسلمين على وجود صراعات بين المسيحيين ومؤسسات الدولة. والحقيقة هي أن الكنيسة والدولة كثيرا ما تكون على خلاف بشأن سياسة التنمية ، ومصادرة ممتلكات الكنيسة وهدم للمباني الكنيسة من جانب السلطات تحت ستار تخطيط المدن. ولوحظ أيضا أن العنف بين الطائفتين محتملة عندما تكون الممتلكات الدينية تحت تهديد للتدمير و / أو مصادرة. هذا هو الوضع عندما صادرت سلطات ولاية الخرطوم أماكن كنسية كثيرة ومهمة وعندما تم تدمير مراكز الأبرشية داخل وخارج معسكرات النازحين داخليا.

وكشفت الدراسة أن الموقف والسلوك السياسي يذهب خلافا للإتجاه الشعبي في ممارسة التفاعل بين الأديان في المجتمعات المحلية في المعسكر. تحليل مفاهيم العلاقات بين المسيحيين والمسلمين على هذا المستوى يظهر أنه ينبغي أن تقيم ويجب أن تعزز وأن تعطى الطابع المؤسسي من جانب الجهات السياسية الفاعلة وهما الحكومة والأحزاب السياسية.

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List of abbreviations:

IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
UN	United Nations
SCC	Sudan Council of Churches
CARE	The American international Humanitarian NGO.
UK	United Kingdom
ACCORD	African Center for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
CMI	Chr. Michelson Institute
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
ICF	Islamic Charter Front
SPLM/A	Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army
NIF	National Islamic Front
NSR	National Salvation Revolution
NCP	National Congress Party
PDFs	Popular Defense Forces
UNMIS	United Nation Mission In Sudan
CRS	Christian Relief Services
HAC	Humanitarian Aid Commission

Note: The order of the List of abbreviations is according to in –text-precedence appearance.

Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

This research addresses the phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons IDPs in greater Khartoum from an interdisciplinary point of view. Most of the researches which had been done on the Displaced Persons in the Sudan in the past have in most cases been influenced by policies and perceptions of sponsors and their often conflicting objectives. Furthermore studies in this field have been limited by the lack of interdisciplinary tradition. In addition most case studies on displacement have abstracted it from its political, socio-economic and historical context.[1]

The researcher attempts this study to provide a better understanding of the phenomenon using historical, political and socio-economic analysis approach.

1-1 Statement of the Problem:

Since independence in 1956, Sudan has experienced instability and witnessed two periods of civil war (1955-1972 and 1983-2005) that brought untold sufferings to the population[2]. Here there has always been a tendency to define Sudanese conflicts as religious of Muslims versus Christians; this assertion is critically treated in this study.

The civil war pushed displaced persons from the South to Khartoum with different faiths and settled around the capital. The phenomenon of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and the war effect on citizens are the central concern of this research that investigates the nature of Christian-Muslim relations in the daily lives of the displaced

[1]- Ibrahim Elnur and others, Resource Guide to Displaced and Refugees Studies in the Sudan, Khartoum University Press, 1994, P.1, 2.

[2]- Melik Ozden, "Internally Displaced Persons, an overview of the right of internally displaced persons of the guiding principles adopted by the United Nations," The Series of the Human Rights Program Of the Europe, Third World Centre (CETIM), P.7.

persons to find out whether religion is a dividing factor in the displaced camps? The research will also draw attention to the responsibility of the government and other institutions for behavior which is problematic to social interaction between displaced communities.

1-2 Literature Review:

To get enlightened by the works which proceeded in the topic, a literature review is undertaken here. Another aim is to avoid duplication with the purpose to conduct a genuine research. The researcher reviewed two types of literature: first works on Internally Displaced persons and second on Christian Muslims relations. The following are examples:

Abdalla, A.A. THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION AND DISPLACEMENT ON DEVELOPMENT, 1990, University of Khartoum: The author argues that war, tribal conflicts, and drought led to massive migration and displacement that disturbed the process of development in the Sudan. The study will treat more down to the roots causes of displacement and its consequences.

Ahmed, I.A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT OF DISPLACEMENT ON THE NATIONAL CAPITAL 1990, University of Khartoum (in Arabic): The study focuses on the negative impact of the arrival of IDP to Khartoum; and argues that displacement created many problems and led to deterioration of services in the national capital, mainly inflation, and distortion of the social life.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF DISPLACEMENT IN THE SUDAN 1990, Population Studies Center, University of Gezira, paper presented in Arabic to the conference on “Internal migration and displacement issues in Sudan”: The paper is an attempt to assess the socio-economic damage/losses resulting from the phenomenon of displacement. It also evaluates the effect of the civil war (as a cause of

displacement) on the infrastructure of the Southern region. It examines the economic effects of displacement on agriculture, livestock, industry and education in the South, as well as the effect of migration to the North on the resources, and ends up with examination of the effect of displacement on the social values of the displaced.

Makawi, S. NO PLACE LIKE DISPLACED, 1991, World Children Journal: The Article is a narrative describing the situation of displaced members of a family and what happens to them during and after the displacement.

Wijnroks, M. (et al). THE DISPLACED PEOPLE OF KHARTOUM: REPORT OF AN EXPLORATORY MISSION, 1988: This report gives a general background to displacement and general description of living conditions of the Southern displaced persons in Khartoum, with particular emphasis on medical and nutritional aspects. There is also a general overview of the organizations working with the displaced in different settlements.

In her article "Religion and Peace in Sudan: Inter-Religious Dialogue and Peaceful Co-Existence"[3], Dina Badri argues that religion has been misused to contribute to conflict in the Sudan's civil war. She mentions many reasons to support her position that religion has been abused in the Sudan to serve political ends. Historically, colonial rule, which was designed and implemented to serve the avarice of the colonial power, occasioned little genuine dialogue between people of the North and South. She cites the *Closed District* Ordinance Act of 1920 as being a strong factor that created the isolation of the two communities of faith. Badri considers the unequal development between the North and the South and the failure of implementing the 1972 Addis Ababa Peace Agreement as root causes of the continued fragmentation of the Sudan.

[3]- Dina Badri, the Ahfad Journal Vol. 21, No.1 June 2004.

The discovery of oil and 1983 September's laws contributed also. In her argument she blames the policies of the National Salvation Revolution regarding non-Muslims and the Islamic Sharia Laws as contributing to the strained relations between the South and the North.

Komy and Osara examine in their study the relations between the faith communities and conclude that political actors used religion as an instrument of political, economic and social control during postcolonial period. This particular use of religion has negative impacts on the life of ordinary Muslims and Christians in the Sudan. It penetrates the society and sours relationships between people who had been living together for centuries. This contributes to the institutionalisation of conflict that (traditionally) had no place in social relationships in the life of Sudanese communities[4].

In reviewing the different sources which took care of the influence of Islam as a text, on ideology and legislative code on the Sudanese Non-Muslims, we came across more than individual scholars. Institutions like UN agencies, academic and non academic bodies, in addition to foreign governmental circles who have all considered the issue. For example the major findings of the report about the rights of non-Muslims in Sudan according to the CMI (CHR Michelsen Institute) report of 2007 titled "*Discrimination in the Name of Religious Freedom: the Rights of Women and Non-Muslims after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan*" is also important in evaluating the cause of disharmony among peoples of different faiths. In the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the interim national Constitution as in alignment with the Shari'a, they refer to the Islamic term *Dhimmi*. *Dhimmi* is related to the treatment of non-Muslims under the Ottoman millet system where Christian and Jewish

[4]- Guma Kunda Komey and Samson Osara, Religion in Conflict and peace building in the Sudan an Experience in Interfaith Coexistence, Unpublished Study, 2004.

groups who belong to the "People of the Book" were regarded as "protected people". In contrast to the restrictive interpretation of *Dhimmi* stipulated by the Islamist constitution of 1998, there are now different Islamic interpretations of non-Muslims' rights. This shows that whether non-Muslims' rights are in Islam are in line with international human rights or not depends on the interpretation of the Shari'a. The Criminal Act of 1991 prohibits apostasy whose punishment is execution. This law is still (March 2008) not revised since the signature of the peace agreement. Based on these provisions, non-Muslims do not have equal citizenship rights in the Sudan; which is repulsive to those it impacts negatively[5].

1-3 Research Objectives:

The objectives of this research are to find out the behavior and attitudes of members of these communities regarding inter-faith dialogue in their daily life. Second, it is important also to examine how government policies impinge on the IDPs lives and their interfaith activities. The third objective is to compare the individual's behaviors and attitudes with those of the institutions.

Forth, the research aims at studying the affected Southern Sudanese and their connections with the hosting societies of the North in terms of population cultural orientation.

Furthermore, the study will analyze the relations among ordinary people and different groups as well as the relations with governmental bodies. Also, the research elaborates the living conditions inside the study areas in terms of services and the government policies of development.

[5] Liv Tønnessen and Anne Sofie Roald, Discrimination in the Name of Religious Freedom: the Rights of Women and Non-Muslims after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan, Chr.Mickilson Institute, Report, 2007.

1-4 Research Hypothesis:

The study assumes that religious faith constitutes no barrier to mutual interaction and that in real life neither Islam nor Christianity constitutes ideological cleavages among IDPs. On the other hand, the two religions constitute obvious differences in formal circles, namely at governmental and administrative levels, as well as in political organizations. At these macro political levels there are barriers between Christianity and Islam. Frequently actors in the political and superstructures of the society manipulate religion for their interests.

1-5 Research Methodology:

The findings of this research are based on a survey conducted in the IDP camps around greater Khartoum. The primary data has been collected using the method of individual interviews, group interviews and personal observation. The survey was administered in two of the largest displaced camps in Greater Khartoum, namely *Mandela* in Khartoum and *Wad-albashir* in Omdurman (The description of the two camps will be provided in a late chapter). The field work experience proved to have a twofold benefit:

a- Its direct positive fruits on the research development and findings.
b- Its enhancing the researcher's personal capacities in the applied aspects of scientific investigation.

To reflect the course of the field work elaborately a comprehensive report is integrated in a later paragraph of this chapter.

The research sampling was more to address initial research questions than to reflect population distribution. The researcher used Snow-ball sampling because the population is extremely large and scattered over a large geographical area. The Snow-balling sampling and the initial sampling was a method where the research starts, whereas theoretical sampling directed the research as to where to go. The

researcher established criteria for people, cases, situations and settings before entering the camps. Sometimes the research was looking purposely for data, categories and dimensions.

However for successful representation sample the researcher's preplan was to target respondents of different groupings and categories as follows:

- Ordinary members Christian and Muslim IDPs.
- Community Leaders like tribal Sheikhs and Public Committees leaders.
- Religious Leaders (Imams and Priests).
- Chiefs or (Sultans).
- Youth and Women (both Christians and Muslims).

Profile of the individual interviews:

No	Profile	Number
(1)	Gender:	
	Male	19
	Female	11
	Total	30
(2)	Marital Status:	
	Married	13
	Divorcee	2
	Single	15
	Total	30
(3)	Age Range:	
	16-24	9
	25-45	13
	45 years and above	8
	Total	30
(4)	Religion:	
	Christians	17
	Muslims	13
	Total	30
(5)	Current place of residence:	
	Wad-Albashir	12
	Mandela	11
	Others	7
	Total	30

It is worth mentioning that ultimately interviewed persons (actual respondents) correspond to the sampling plan. The individual and group

interviewees were gender-sensitive. Both females and males are included in the survey. Concerning the occupational status, different self-employed and unemployed people, students, and households responded to my interviews. Different education levels included illiterate, Primary School level, secondary school level, University students and Graduates.

However researcher acknowledges that this technique limits generalizations because of the dispersion of the targeted population in different locations.

One way to work in the IDPs camps is to reach the respondents through key persons in the communities. Therefore, the researcher targeted key persons working in public committees, university students, local and international NGOs and religious and community leaders.

Key persons mentioned above don't mean that the researcher consulted and interviewed only the leading and notable personalities in the camps. It means that the respondents and the interviewees are typical representative of their categories which included ordinary IDP inhabitants along with commoners.

In the interviews, the interviewer encouraged the interviewees to introduce themselves and to tell about their education and training background. The common questions in most of the interviews are: What is the meaning of being Christian/Muslim and what is the influence of religion on your daily life? Description of their experience as Christians and Muslims living in Khartoum was addressed, whether they have experienced any difficulties as Christians or Muslims? What are their coping strategies with life in the city? The questions also addressed the interfaith interaction and experiences with members of other religions.

The issues the researcher tried to find out included the experiences with official government policies regarding religion, to see whether there

are any differences, according to how official government policies regarding religion treat non-Muslims and how individual Muslims relate to non-Muslim?

To argue these primary data, relevant secondary data are utilized in this research.

1-5-1 Fieldwork Report:

As was originally planned in the proposal and agreed upon with the supervisor, the fieldwork took place in two of the largest displaced camps in Khartoum State.

An approval to visits the targeted camps was necessary. I therefore paid daily visit during the period from February 21 to February 27, 2007 to the Government commission of the Voluntary and Humanitarian Work, Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Khartoum State. The required permission was issued and accordingly I was allowed to visit Mayo and Wad al-Bashir camps for the purpose of collecting the data essential to conduct research on the topic. The permission was limited to one month between March 3, and April 3, 2007. Later it was renewed and extended to May 3, 2007.

The issued approval was in response to a request by Dr. Safwat S. Fanos the Head Department of Political Science, University of Khartoum, who asked those concerned to facilitate my visits and to furnish the library of the Commission with a copy of the final report of the research.

Along with the Commission approval I was allowed to consult their library where I found the following very valuable first hand material:-

1. Survey report on health and nutrition situation in both Mandela and Wad al-Bashir. The report was prepared in 2001 and included statistics showing:

A. Age sectors.

B. Family Heads.

C. Types of jobs.

D. Income earned.

E. Working family members.

F. Source of water supply.

G. Donations received.

2. Report showing and sorting the NGOs active in both camps as follows

National:

A. Islamic Da‘wa organization.

B. Islamic Relief Agency.

C. Sudanese Red Crescent.

D. Fraternity and Peace Organization.

E. Child Care Organization.

Foreign:

A. ADRA.

B. Care International (water supply).

3- Report on types of home building: showing.

Type of Home	**% Families**
Mud	42.5
Carton	23.8
Straw Hut	14.0
Others	8.4
Unidentified	11.3

4- Proposed activities and work plans among the displaced within the framework of the CPA.

During the same period I prepared the interview questions and the interviews were completed as planned for the Muslims targeted and for all male Christians. The female representation was not achieved easily

because women in most cases are intimidated not to speak in the presence of men or strangers. In addition to this, as the report is to reflect later, women are usually absent from the camps during day hours allowed for a researcher. Within such hours women move away from the camps for the purpose of earning family subsistence.

1-5-2 The following tasks were effected:

1. A visit to the IOM (International Organization of Migration) which is responsible for and undertakes the program of voluntary return of the displaced. Valuable data was collected.
2. Collective interviews were carried out with sultans (chiefs). Yield of the meetings will be reflected later.
3. I enjoyed the service of the same research assistant for both camps. The assistant accompanied me and helped me to find the interviewees. He introduced me, explained my mission, and persuaded the interviewees to cooperate. In most cases the assistant helped in interpretation in the local tongue as he speaks Dinka, Latuka and Juba Arabic.

1-5-3 Challenges:

1. The permission to visit the camps took a week to approve. The government commission officials demanded to see the proposal and they criticized the interview questions. They raised remarks about the topic intricacy and sensitivity. It wasn't easy to persuade them.
2. Acceptability in the study community was very low. There were great suspicion and skepticism. I faced difficulty to introduce myself and present the issue. Generally the response was low and among women in particular.
3. Language of communication was sometimes a major problem.

4. Reaching the camps was a challenge. I had been advised by the informant to come into the camps using the public and local means of transportation. I had to avoid taking a private car or hireing a taxi.
5. I had to accept all kinds of hospitality offered to me, especially soft drinks and water offered in almost all interviewee's home places. Water and other soft drinks were in some cases a punishment because of their frequency.
6. It was always expected by the interviewees that I convey a message to those at the background, who are thought to be the government or human rights circles.
7. Transcription of the recorded material was a kind of torture for me. It was my first time to do such a task. Beginnings are always so difficult but ultimately it was successfully done.
8. Translation of the Arabic text into English language was another hardship. I had to expend the effort of the comprehended material collected in colloquial accent and then try to convey it in as close interpretation as possible to English. I couldn't have gone through this without the help of others. However, there has always been the problem of using proper English terms to correspond to colloquial terms.
9. Comments, remarks, clarifications, interpretations and all the other remarks of the interviewer were put between brackets at the relevant position within the final text of the interview in English.

1-5-4 Further Remarks:

1. Being of an Arab origin Northerner (Mondukoro) I faced gestures of unwelcome. Sometimes I was thought of to be pro- government element.

2. I had joint photographed pictures with interviewees which I promised to pass them copies of which. This is not yet done.
3. Despite the poverty and destitution in the camps, there are ,yet, up to date television sets, digital dishes, DVD and radio sets.
4. Narration style of the interviewees is to a great extent influenced by the media language and in many cases personal experience stories are common between different interviewees.
5. Christians ask me about Islam. Often they have wrong information about Muslim customs like Hijab (Muslim costumes) and prohibition of hand shakes with females.
6. I made good relations with community members, especially through mobile phone and text messaging. I have been invited to many of theirs occasions.

1-6 Significance and Importance of the Research:

The phenomenon of the Internally Displaced Persons attracted my attention as a student of humanities for the last seven years. I also found myself in contact and touch with the issues of Christian-Muslim relations. These issues faced me in both my academic and day to day life, in the media, in the lecture theatre, and in public forums. Those phenomenon and issues found their way to my attention and became my concern.

I was lucky enough to conduct field work - in November 2005 - among the displaced in camps in different parts of Khartoum state as that has been an excellent chance to detect and examine that phenomenon at the real life level. The camps I had the chance to work in were inhabited by both Christians and Muslims. One of my observations was that consciousness of religious identity was never a barrier between Christians and Muslims in these camps. This could safely lead to the conclusion that on the real life level neither Islam nor Christianity constitutes an

ideology. On the other hand Christian-Muslim Relations in the media, in the formal circles and even in the academic institutions form a fence of one perception to the other between Christians and Muslims. Thus instantly the question of the role of faith debates in the perception of both Christians and Muslims towards each other arose.

Furthermore, I had the Chance –as a Junior Scholar- to join a research project on Shari'a Debates and their Perception by Christian and Muslims in selected African Countries, which is an international, comparative and multidisciplinary research project at the University of Bayreuth - Germany funded by Volkswagen Foundation. That project was a part of the Funding Initiative: Knowledge for Tomorrow – Co-operative Research Projects in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The project is designed to develop comparative literature with historically, multi-disciplinary scope of the issue of Shari'a debates and their perceptions by Christians and Muslims.

1-7 Theoretical Framework:

This research is based on the argument that "both Christianity and Islam in Sudan (were) polarized by political, ethnic and cultural factors"[6]. That is the reason why this research is aimed at understanding these relations through the perspective of society-state relation in a country where different religions exist together. The study will look into the relationship between individuals of different faiths on the one hand (here IDPs communities a case study), and on the other are relations between those individuals with the state or/and the governmental institutions.

1-7-1 Theory on State- Society relations:

[6] Gabriel Gai Riam Weituor, Christians-Muslim relations in Sudan: a study of the relationship between church and state (1898-2005), the center for study of Christianity in the non-western world, Edinburgh, Scotland, April 2005.pII.

It is now far more famous than to site the a definition of the State in the literature is to emphasize the state's institutional character as an organization or set of organizations, their functions especially regarding the making of rules and recourse to coercion or the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force. Or the state as set of organizations located in a particular territory to implement these decisions using, if necessary, force. There are four levels of state and society relations from bottom top, they are:

1. The trenches: Officials who execute state directives directly in the face of possible societal resistance like police officers and teachers, with the mandate to apply state rules and regulations directly.
2. The dispersed field offices: higher and local bodies that organize state policies and formulate and implement wholly local policies. They includes legislative bodies, courts, military and police units that make key decisions about resources through ministries or locally. (Who gets what?).
3. The agency's central offices: Centers where national policies are formulated and enacted. These agencies are technically responsible to the top political leadership.
4. The commanding heights: At the pinnacle of the state is the top executive leadership.

State theories have rightly pointed out that states have always been critically true in the twentieth century. Moreover, how state power is organized influences the incentives of social and economic actors, again contributing indirectly to patterns of change. States vary in their effectiveness based on their ties to society. If the states are to be viewed in their social contexts, it is important to study not only the peak organizations of the states and key social groups, often located at the center in the capital city, but also states-society relations at the periphery.

The society is here taken to mean the social structure for a certain group of individuals who view themselves as its members and experience their identity as determined by it.

In the relationship between the state and society, there is a very important result, it is the total transformation. State's domination transforms how people of an arena identify themselves; in this case you find policies like forced migrations, use of violence and other means may destroy local domination of the social forces[7].

1-7-2 The relationship between the state and society in the postcolonial African states:

African regimes are described as the most acute tensions in the political economy of the postcolonial state. Regimes were built by inflating the inherited state apparatus, strengthening armies, neutralizing legal structures for popular political participation and representation, and enhancing the state's capacity to appropriate and allocate resources. These changes in the structure of the state are integral to regime consolidation as it unfolded in postcolonial Africa in the strength of the African state as an institution of authoritarian rule, repression, and the extraction of rural surpluses via state-monopolized commercial circuits.

State patronage and clientelism emerged as loosely centralized modes of political control and governance. This system of control helped to consolidate regimes by offering access to state resources in exchange for political acquiescence. Factionalism at the top, which appeared in the form of "palace politics" or personal power struggles, often grew out of issues that extended far beyond the boundaries of the state itself. These policies lead to economic and political crises[8].

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[7] Joel S. Migdal, The state in society: an approach to stuggles for domination, cabtidge university press, 1994.page 7.

[8] Catherine Boone, States and ruling classes in postcolonial Africa: the enduring contradictions of power, cabtidge university press, 1994, Page 131.

1-8 Research Organization:

The order of the research chaptering and sectioning below emerged from the development of the research conducting. The original plan was in so many cases modified or altered according to what appeared to be the logical coherence of the thesis. To the researchers opinion the present organization gives that coherence and logic.

1. Chapter One is an Introduction which contains Statement of the Problem, Previous Works , Research Objectives, Research Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Significance and research importance and Theoretical Framework.
2. Chapter Two is addressing the Phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)**.** The Chapter provides a definition of Internally Displaced Persons, Causes of the displacement, types of displacement and the impact of displacement. The Chapter furthermore analyzes the situation of the IDPs in Khartoum and also looks at the Governmental and IDPs relations.
3. Chapter Three titled Christian-Muslim Relations in Sudan presents Sharia (Islamic law) and Non-Muslims. It also gives a Historical Background, of Christianity and Islam in the Sudan till Turco-Egyptian rule, The Mahdist Revolution, The Condominium Period between 1898 and 1956, The Period from 1956 – 1989.
4. Chapter Four which looks into the Period since 1989, Public Order Laws, Jihad and Christian-Muslim Relations and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement CPA (2005)**.**
5. Chapter Five is to analyze Christians –Muslims Relations in the IDP camps. It has two sections: Section I: Description of the IDP Camps: (1) Mandela. (2) Wad al-bashir. Section II: Christians-Muslims

Relations in the IDP Camps and Issues affecting Christian-Muslim Relations.

6. Chapter Six is Conclusion.

Chapter Two

The Phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP)

in Greater Khartoum

The Phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Greater Khartoum

2-1 Introduction:

Studies on displaced persons in Sudan are a new tradition and young area in terms of both research and publications that received increased attention since early 1990. Yet the literature on internally displaced persons in general mostly deals with the displaced in conflict situation, while research on the post-conflict period is lacking[9]. The Characteristic features of studies on displacement in most cases are not addressing the nature and root cause of the phenomenon. They furthermore abstract it from its political, socio-economic and historical context. The literature on displacement falls into the same category as that on refugees.

The challenge to research into the phenomenon of displacement stems from its nature an ever increasing dynamics and more complex social situation that no single methodological prescription can be offered.[10] Another challenge is that the population displacement in the Sudan covers many different flows and an extensive period of time.

2-2 Definition of Internally Displaced Persons:

The UN defines Internally Displaced Persons IDPs as "Persons or groups of people who have been forced to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of, or in order to avoid, in particular, the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border."[11]

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[9] Desiree Nilson, Internally Displaced, Refugees and returnees from and in the Sudan, studies on emergencies and disaster relief

[10] Ibrahim Elnur, Studies on Displaced Persons in the Sudan: A Critical Overview,1994.

[11] Melik Ozden, INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS, an overview of the right of internally displaced persons of the guiding principles adopted by the United Nations. Page 19.

Internal displacement is not only a subject of preoccupation from the point of view of human rights. It is also a humanitarian, political and development problem. Most of the displaced persons are in and from developing countries with acute problems of nation-building: crises of national identity and unity, ineffective authority and control, limited capacity for economic productivity and resource distribution and above all tension between central political and economic forces [12].

2-3 Causes of the displacement:

Displacement is caused by a mixture of complex factors. Some of these factors are explicit in natural calamities, desertification, food shortage and hunger – civil wars, ethnic conflicts and the generalized insecurity, while others are implicit in the political economy of the Sudan. Political instability, misguided development policies and an ailing economy are some of the implicit factors working for long time, creating an environment conducive to violence, massive population movements and a protracted decay in state institutions[13].

In the general theoretical discussion on population movements, population displacement resulting from natural and man-made disasters, or as a result of development plans, has not been treated as part of population migration. The latter forms of population movements are generally treated as voluntary movements. Population displacement is usually not treated as part of the migratory process, it is rather viewed as a collective dislocation of people from their normal habitat by a superior force – development projects, natural disaster or war or a combination of natural and man-made disasters.

Social and political problems of the country are the main causes of disaster and consequent displacement of the population. As such,

[12] Ibid, Page5.

[13] Munzoul A. M. Assal , DISPLACED PERSONS IN KHARTOUM: Current realities and post-war scenarios, july 2004, page 1.

displacement has to be seen as a process conditioned by historically shaped social, economic and political forces.

2-4 Types of displacement:

There is need to differentiate between geographical, socio-economic and socio-cultural connotations of displacement. The geographical connotations of displacement relate to simple movements of people, as a result of above factors. A focus on this dimension of displacement ignores the extent to which people are forced to move from one area to another, the patterns of movement and the socio-economic background of people displaced. The socio-economic process views displacement as a social process in which there are variations and degrees. For Example University of juba students and personnel temporarily situated in Khartoum has become geographically displaced but they cannot be described as socially displaced. Also the IDPs who are living outside the official camps are another phenomenon that needs to be taken in count.

Warfare Displacement, like the Internally Displaced Persons as a result of the wars in the South and Darfur is one type.

Also forced regrouping can be considered as a type of displacement, this is usually created as a response to the acts of authorities. Peace villages and displaced camps undertaken by the government in the Nuba Mountain and around Khartoum are examples.

2-5 Impact of displacement:

Evidently displacement has serious – if not grave – Impacts on those individuals and groups who suffer it. Social, economic, behavioral, political and psychological are of those effects of which we, here, consider some.

1. The shock of displacement can be dramatic and long lasting, apart from the disruption of the traditional socio-economic way of life.

Displacement is an event that disturbs the vital functioning of a society. It affects the system of biological survival (subsistence, shelter, health, and reproduction), the system of order (division of labor, authority patterns, cultural norms, and social roles), the system of meaning (values, shared definitions of reality, communication mechanisms) and the motivations of the actors within all of these systems.[14]

2. A sudden rapidly developing event that disrupts the prevailing order of life and produce danger, injury, illness, death, loss of property, or other severe privations to large numbers of people resident within a common geographic area.
3. Displacement breaks up families and severs community ties. It leads to unemployment and limits access to land, education, food and shelter. The displaced are particularly vulnerable to violence. Disturb whole communities and societies. Both the areas left behind by the displaced and the areas to which they flee can suffer extensive damage. Socio-economic systems and community structures often break down, impeding reconstruction and development for decades.
4. Many social problems and disputes develop, often resulting in clashes, social eruptions and fights between individuals or groups of different ethnic backgrounds.
5. The sudden movement of large numbers of people usually affects the response of the local administrative structure to cope with the demands of those affected. In all cases those people's livelihood will have been destroyed and have to depend on assistance for their survival.

[14] Paul Wani Gore, THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAFIC CONSEQUENCES OF POPULATION DISPLACEMENT IN SUDAN, Current studies on the Sudan, 1998, page 185.

6. Population displacement resulting from disasters, are sudden and forces the population to live in unsanitary conditions, without work to keep a family, as a result children forced into stealing or begging.
7. Forced to leave their living environment, displaced persons are victims of all sorts of human rights violations and must deal with numerous difficulties, given that they often find themselves confronted with both a hostile environment and a hostile government. They are neither protected nor aided.
8. Displaced persons are so often victims of violations of their right to life and to security, to food, to adequate housing, to health, to work, to education and to freedom of movement etc. Their property is expropriated and they are deprived of their possessions and subjected to discrimination.
9. In civil wars along racial, ethnic, linguistic or religious lines, the displaced are often perceived as the enemy. They are associated with an insurgent group or an opposing political party or ideology, or considered inferior or threatened. In other cases the displaced may be trapped between opposing sides in civil wars or come under direct attack by insurgents[15].
10. The socio-cultural dimension and the public conception about IDPs are:
    1- The displacement destroys tradition of systems, communities, affects families, erodes productive capacities and affects the demographic structure
    2- IDPs are conceived as a threat to health and social order.
    3- IDPs put pressure on social services, cause congestion in public transport.

[15] Internally displaced persons, 7, 156

4- IDPs are alien. Socio-cultural displacement leads to increase in psychological and psychiatric disturbances.

2-6 IDPs in Khartoum:

Like all armed conflicts elsewhere in the world, the civil wars in the Sudan produced a drift of population into the large urban centers in the North and the South. The majority of the displaced from the South moved into the nearby rural areas of Northern Sudan. They concentrated on the periphery of these towns, in the poorest areas generally known as slum and squatter settlements.[16]

The number of IDPs in the Sudan gives the biggest figure worldwide[17], with about 11.9% of the population considered displaced mainly as a result of the war[18]. More than one half of the population of the Southern Sudan is now either living in Northern Sudan or has fled to neighboring countries. In reality three-quarters of the Southern population can be considered displaced[19]. Twenty-five percent of the populations in the country live in Khartoum and 40% of Khartoum inhabitants are IDPs[20]. Of the internally displaced persons, the greatest number is located in Greater Khartoum (over 44%)[21]. This situation paints a poignant picture of the Sudanese society now made up of largely uprooted persons.

Most of the displaced population comes from a background of subsistence economy, where farming, pastoral or small scale animal husbandry is the dominant mode of life. During the early stages of the war in Southern Sudan, the majority of the displaced Southern Sudanese

[16] Paul Wani Gore, The Socio-economic and demographic consequences of population displacement in Sudan, Current studies on the Sudan, 1998, p. 172.
[17] Munzoul A. M. Assal, "Displaced Persons in Khartoum: Current realities and post-war scenarios," 2004, p. 1.
[18] Paul Wani Gore, id, page 182.
[19] Paul Wani Gore, id, page 184.
[20] Munzoul A. M. Assal , id, page 16.
[21] Ibid, p.15.

came from among the Dinka of North Bahr El-Gazal. Most of them moved northwards, first to Southern Darfur and Kordufan provinces, where they settled as agricultural laborers. From there, the displaced moved to urban centers further North. The Shuluk and the Nuer started to move northwards, they moved to Kosti and Khartoum and also Equatorian found their way to Khartoum"[22]. In almost all cases these ethnic groups lost all their cattle either before they moved, or during the process of their flight.

IDPs in Khartoum live in the margins of urban life; windows for job opportunities are virtually closed. Significantly, however, the IDPs are exposed to a cultural milieu that is alien to them, which leads to socio-cultural displacement and are unwelcomedness by their host communities.

The social services are non-existent in these areas. Services such as clean water, electricity, sanitation and health facilities as well as education opportunities are lacking. Being unskilled and lacking Arabic language, the displaced population cannot find employment. The majority of them tend to earn their living through casual labor and other low-paid jobs.[23]

2-7 The Government and IDPs:

Generally and historically displaced populations in Sudan are not treated properly because the central government has for a very long time denied the existence of the phenomenon of displacement caused by the civil war. The attitude of governments towards the displaced population has been marked by denial, indifference, and outright hostility. Long procedures and unstructured and unforml interventions characterize the government's decision-making style and policy implementation strategy.

[22] Paul Wani Gore, id, page 188.
[23] Ibid, page 189

The displaced have been viewed as a threat to political stability, as a security problem, and a source of social and cultural tension. This is evident from the location of IDPs camps on the fringes of cities where the populations have no access to social services. The government abdicated its responsibilities towards IDPs, leaving the responsibility for their welfare to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). One result of this policy is the high dependency among IDPs on relief food[24]. The government officials say the IDPs in the beginning and during the 1980s were scattered in groups in different forty six locations inside the capital. It was difficult for the NGOs to work out relief projects because of lack of security and deteriorated environment when the IDPs were living inside Khartoum city.

In 1988 the Displaced Commission was established by the head of the Council of Ministers. It started working on the national level and was also responsible for the IDPs inside and outside Khartoum State. Later after the transformation to the federal system of governance the Commission of Khartoum became responsible for the IDPs in Khartoum State, and the government policy was divided into short term, mid term and long term policies.[25]

1. In the short run policy between 1989 and 1991, the commission's work concentrated in sheltering and housing. The strategy of doing the task is through collecting the IDPs and grouping them in many Camps. The government justification of this policy is to be able to offer them food and water but "the policy was criticized on the grounds that it did not solicit the cooperation of the displaced population and did not involve it in the timing and selection of relocation sites; in addition, the relocation sites were not properly

[24] Munzoul A. M. Assal, id. P. 1

[25] From interview with HAC (Humanitarian Aid Commission) officer, department of the Organizations, conducted in Khartoum, February 2008.

equipped with shelters and other essential services"[26]. The government's abdication of its responsibility for the welfare of the IDPs has resulted in dependency among IDPs on relief aid food.

2. In the mid run policy between 1991 and 1994, the government established four major official Camps in Khartoum State. The camps were used for the dismantling random habitation inside the city. In 1992 the government called upon the International and the national NGOs to work in the IDP camps. The NGOs which started the work inside the camps in that period included: Sudan Council of Churches (SCC), Islamic Dawa Organization, CARE International, Red Cross, Save the Children UK, Oxfam, ACCORD and a few others.
3. Since 1995/1996, the commission started the Long run policy which aimed at integrating the IDPs in the urban areas. The commission started this process by counting the IDPs in Khartoum State. The task has been done in collaboration with the Population National Council and UNDP with the assistance of the working NGOs. The purpose is said to have been to grant IDPs land plots. Although the government claims that it is actuating its three term (short, medium and long run) policies, the research demonstrates that IDPs in Khartoum still live in the margins of urban life.

The shelter aimed at for the first phase was not attained by the majority of the IDPs. The very few land plots granted were given without clean water supply or power provision. Food availability and distribution was completely left to NGOs who often short of external fund support and continually complain that the official authorities are actually impeding their mission. Integration of the IDPs in the urban areas –

[26] Eltigani E. Eltigani; War and Drought in Sudan, Essays on Population Displacement, University press of Florida, 1995, page 7.

which is a central goal of the third phase – ended up into inhomogeneous shanty towns accumulating rather than urbanizing their inhabitants. The pattern, then, is neither able to preserve the original elements of the IDPs old life nor is successful in providing a suitable alternative.

Chapter Three

Christian-Muslim Relations in the Displaced Camps in Khartoum

Christian-Muslim Relations in the Displaced Camps in Khartoum

3-1 Introduction:

Tension in the Christian-Muslim relations has its roots in the history of politics and governance of Sudan. Policies of the colonial administration that contributed to cleavages incised the unequal development and separate administration between the North and the South. This problem, which may properly be termed a failure of nation building, has moved from bad to worse since independence. According to Kebbede "Since independence all governments in Khartoum have totally neglected the economic, political, and cultural interests of the non-Muslim and non-Arab natives of southern Sudan"[27]. The undertaking of programs of Islamization and Arabization of the country by the central government while ignoring its cultural diversity contributed negatively to Christian-Muslims relations. One of the policies that complicated the situation was the Islamization of the educational system. Southern displaced persons who came to the North have been tenacious targets of Islamization program through different strategies by government organs and agents. Frequently these strategies are directed against non-Muslims in a subtle manner. But government agencies have grown in boldness and are now more blatant in their approaches. Such overt, covert proselytization and Arabization of society exacerbates the difficult relations between Muslims and Christians in Khartoum and elsewhere in the Sudan.

The debate over the role of religion in public life and Christian Muslim relations since independence has always focused on Islam. To understand this debate and its implications for Christian Muslim relation, we need to provide few facts about the public-law aspects of Sharia,

[27] Girma Kebbede, Introduction: Sudan's Predicament, Civil war, displacement and ecological degradation, Ashgate Publishing limited, 1999, p 7.

because its implementation is supported by Muslims and opposed by Christian/Non-Muslims. Private-law aspects of Sharia, such as family law and inheritance, have only affected Muslims and are, generally speaking, of no concern to non-Muslims. The status and rights of non-Muslims under Sharia, however, have peculiarly important implications for Christian Muslim relations[28].

3-2 Sharia (Islamic law) and Non-Muslims:

3-2-1 Constitutional Status and Civil Rights:

Under Sharia, the subjects of an Islamic state are classified in terms of religion or belief. At the top of the hierarchy are Muslims who enjoy full legal status under Sharia; they have complete access to any public office in the state.

The next class comprises the (ahl al-kitab), those who believe in God in accordance with a divinely revealed scripture (primarily Jews and Christians). This group may be offered a compact (Dhimma) with the Muslim state under Sharia, which guarantees security of their persons and property and freedom to practice their religion, as well as some freedom to apply their own law in personal matters. Dhimma must submit to Muslim sovereignty and pay jizya, a poll tax to the Muslim state as a token of that submission. As subjects rather than citizens of the state, Dihmmies have no right to participate in the government of the states as a whole, although they enjoy a degree of autonomy in their communal affairs. Moreover Dhimmies are subject to other disqualifications under Sharia, some of which will be indicated below. While other non-Muslims were not originally entitled to receive Dhimma status under Sharia, they

[28] Abdullahi A. An-naim, Religion and National Integration in the Sudan: Islam, Christianity and politics in the Sudan and Nigeria, Northwestern University Press, 1992, p22.

might be permitted to enter and remain in the territory of the Muslim state through special (aman) safe conduct.

3-2-2 Justice:

The penal law of Sharia would be unacceptable to non-Muslims, for example most jurists would not allow the Muslim murderer of a non-Muslim to be executed. Moreover, if the surviving kin wanted to accept monetary compensation for an offense, diya for a non-Muslim is much less than for a Muslim. Non-Muslim would also find Sharia rules of evidence objectionable, in that a non-Muslim is not considered a competent witness against a Muslim facing a hadd and qisas charge, whereas the reverse is not the case.

We, would however, serve better the purpose and the objective of the present research if we shed some light on the relations between Christians and Muslims in Sudan through different periods of the history of the country since the times both Christianity and Islam were adopted by parts of the Sudanese peoples and groups. The past image allows for better understanding of the dynamics of the present, thenceforth an overview stands necessary.

3-3 Historical Background:

The intension here in this section is to find out the behaviors and attitudes of members of the IDP communities regarding inter-faith interactions in their daily life, and also to examine the political structure and the role of the government institutions in Christian-Muslim relation in the IDP Camps and of the objectives also is to analyze the individual responses with those of the government.

To achieve the above objectives the research find that there is a need to have an overview and to go back in the history to find out the successive governments' policies and strategies and Christian-Muslim

relation through history in Sudan since the 3rd Century AD. This analysis is important because there is believed that the present phenomenon has its root causes in the past and the problem is developed along with the nation building process. The historical background in this Chapter is divided into to the following phases:

1. Christianity and Islam in Sudan till Turco-Egyptian rule.
2. The Mahdist Revolution.
3. The Condominium Period between 1898 and 1956.
4. The Period from 1956 – 1989.

The next Chapter is designed to discuss the period since 1989.

3-3-1 Christianity and Islam into Sudan from the third Century till Turco-Egyptian rule:

Christianity first came to the regions that now constitute Northern Sudan in the 3rd Century AD when Coptic monks from Egypt fled to Nubia – the region south of the first cataract of the river Nile, to the confluence of the Blue and White Niles[29].

Then Nubia was divided into three Christian kingdoms which are: Nobatia, Makuria and Aladia. This civilization continued till the 9th century. Egypt fell into the Arab Muslim conquest in the mid 7th century. The relation between Egypt as an Islamic Caliphate and Christian Makuria was known as Baqt. Baqt agreement guaranteed peaceful and truce relation between the two states. After the 13th century Christian communities converted to Islam through marriage, Sufism and Muslims' trade.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the whole region of Northern Sudan had become a Muslim territory. The situation was quite different in

[29]Gabriel Gai Riam Weituor, Christiance-Muslim relations in Sudan:a study of the relationship between church and state (1898-2005), the center for study of Christianity in the non-western world, edinburgh, Scotland, April 2005, p8.

the region which is today known as Southern Sudan. Because of the resistance to Islamization and Arabization, people in this region were neither affected nor did Islam penetrate their territory before the late nineteenth century.[30]

During the Turco-Egyptian administration between 1821 and 1881, Sudanese Islam was been influenced by Sufism. Qadiriya Order was the most powerful Sufi movement and Khatmiyya Order made good relations with the Turco-Egyptian administration.

3-3-2 The Mahdist Revolution till Condominium Period 1898:

The Mahdist State was established in 1881 "to a genuine Islamic piety and declared jihad against the corrupt Turco-Egyptian colonialists were condemned as unbelievers (Kuffar)"[31]. Leader Mahdi and his supporters the Ansar fought against the Turco-Egyptians till they established an independent political state in Sudan for the first time since the Funj Sultanate. The Mahdi himself was a leader of genuinely religious inspiration. The Shari'a was the acknowledged law of the Mahdist state but the legal administration of the Mahdia was a combination of Shari'a and customary law.[32] In the South Mahdia failed to penetrate the region with exception of little trial for short period with little religious impact.

3-3-3 The Condominium 1898 – 1956:

The Condominium was formally established in 1898 following the defeat of the Mahdist state by an Anglo-Egyptian army. The aim of the Condominium was to develop Sudan as a single nation. Including for the first time in its history both the North and the South as separate regions, each with its own ethnic and cultural characteristics. This was justified in colonial theory by the argument that the predominantly Muslim North had achieved a higher level of political and administrative development

[30] Ibid P,13.
[31] Ibid, p17.
[32] Ibid, p17.

than the South, and that Southerners needed time to catch up. It was not the intention of the colonial administration that the South should be Christianized, but by entrusting so much of the educational process of development in the South to Christian missionaries whose primary intention was evangelism through education, the colonial administration effectively confirmed the historic distinctions between Arabs and Africans along religious as well as cultural and ethnic lines. It was through Southern policy that "Southern Sudan was transformed into a battleground against Islam"[33] and the administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium that the South came to be identified with Christianity, while the North continued to express its identity through Islam. The tension between these two identities was exacerbated from 1946 as the colonial policy Changed to administering Sudan as a single state in preparation for national independence.[34]

Despite the separation which had been imposed by the "Southern Policy" and the "Closed District Order of 1922" to curtail Islamic and Arabic influences, Northern Sudanese concern especially with religious matters continued to rise. On June 20th, 1924, the Imam of Khartoum mosque attacked the Sudan Government for allowing Christian missionary societies to propagate their faith in the South. In 1942 the Graduates' Congress demanded, among other requests, the abolition of subsidies paid to missionary education. Five years later they requested the Civil Secretary to permit them to send out Islamic missionaries to the South. To justify their demand they reminded the government that the principle of religious freedom was embodied in the United Nations Charter.[35]

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[33] Yusuf Fadl hasan, The role of religion in the North-South conflict, with special reference to Islam,on religion and conflict in Sudan, Paulines publications Africa, Kenya, 1999, P 27.
[34] Gabriel Gai Riam Weituor,, p44.
[35] Yusuf Fadl hasan, P 28-29.

In 1950 the government disregarded the Southern Policy and introduced the teaching of Arabic in all Sudanese schools above elementary level.

Though the religious stimulus was the center of mutiny of the Equatorial Corps in August 1955, yet the Southern representatives in parliament agreed to the declaration of independence. On June 16, 1958, representatives of the South took a stand against the new constitution and walked out of the Constituent Assembly. It was however, the debate over the role of religion in the affairs of the state that claimed the attention of the whole country.[36]

3-3-4 The Period from 1956 – 1989:

For some scholars, the undertaking of the programs of Islamization and Arabization of the country during the National rule by the central successive governments while ignoring its great cultural diversity contributes negatively to Christian-Muslim relations. It is a problem started immediately after independence that "since independence all governments in Khartoum have neglected the economic, political, and cultural interests of the non-Muslim and non-Arab natives of Southern Sudan"[37].

Others see religion has been misused to contribute to conflict in the Sudan's civil war. Many reasons placed religion to be abused in the Sudan to serve political ends. Among them the colonial rule, which was designed and implemented policies created isolation and unequal development between people of the North and South to serve the avarice of the colonial power, occasioned little genuine dialogue between people of the North and South.

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[36] Yusuf Fadl hasan, , P 29.

[37] Girma Kebbede, Introduction: Sudan's Predicament, Civil war, displacement and ecological degradation, Ashgate Publishing limited, 1999, p. 7.

At the independence of Sudan in 1956 the principles of Islam was articulated by the head of the Shari'a courts, the Grand Kadi Hassan Muddathir in a pamphlet entitled "A Memorandum for the Enactment of a Sudan Constitution Derived from the Principles of Islam" said, "in an Islamic country like the Sudan the social organization of which has been built upon Arab customs and Islamic ways and of which the majority are Muslims, it is essential that the general principles of the constitution of such a country should be derived from the principles of Islam, and, consequently, the laws governing its people should be enacted from the principles of an Islamic constitution and in accordance with Islamic ideals out of which such community has been shaped"[38]

Also in that time, Umma Party and the national Unionist Party called for Shari'a to be the main source of legislation, while the communist objected to the idea. The Southerners challenged the proposal because they expected to be treated as second class citizens, deprived of holding public office like that of the head of the state and the chief of the judiciary. Finally they decided to boycott the deliberation of the National Committee for the constitution if Christianity was not recognized as a states religion like Islam.

Under Abud's military regime which started in 1958, the processes of Islamization and Arabization continued through the encouraging spread of Islamic education, the promotion of Arabic language and the suppression of the activities of missionaries.

Later in 1966 the Premier Sadiq al-Mahdi (Umma Party President) saw the identity of Sudan is an Islamic and Arabic one. The Democratic Unionist Party DUP and the Islamic Charter Front (ICF) demanded the

[38] Akolda M. Tier, Mixed Civil, Sharia and Customary Jurisdictions and laws in an ethnic conflict setting: the case of Sudan, The role of religion in the North-South conflict, with special reference to Islam, in religion and conflict in Sudan, Pauline's publications Africa, Kenya, 1999, P. 79. [38]

Islamic constitution, while the Communist Party and the Southern political parties called for the complete separation between state and religion.

In 1969 Al-Numayri took the power in military coup. Peace with the South was achieved ending the Civil War through Addis Ababa agreement of 1972 which guaranteed freedom of religion. Then for non-religious reasons, Numayri declared the implementation of Shari'a Laws as the state law in September 1983. Immediately "Numayri appointed a committee to revise the laws with a view to ensuring their conformity with the Shari'a. Several bills were drafted, of these the Sources of Judicial Decisions Act that the judgment shall be based on the Shari'a. A new penal code provided for the serve Quranic punishments of hudud: Hand amputation for theft, cross amputation for armed robbery, death for adultery, sedition and apostasy, crucifixion for armed rebellion and flogging for brewing, possession or consumption of alcohol"[39].

Southern politicians, the Church and the Sudan People Libration Movement/Army (SPLM/A) were distressed but it is important to mention that the Islamic laws were declared three months after Anya-Nya II mutiny, this was the consequent of the drop in North-South relations, as a result of collapse of Addis Ababa Accord.

Southerners found September Laws violate their rights and freedom and many historians find September laws intensified the second civil war. Many initiatives of peace talks were took place between the Sudan Government and the SPLM/SPLA because there have always been a realization that the Civil War will not stop by force of arms.

In the coalition government, Al-Sadiq Al-Mahadi the leader of the controlling party found Shari'a laws were imposed and he rejected

[39] Mohamed Ibrahim khalil, "Human Rights and Islamization of the Sudan Legal system, in religion and conflict in Sudan," Pauline's publications Africa, Kenya, 1999, P 60.

Huddud. Al-Mahdi aimed at introducing a new Islamic law that would safeguard the interests of non-Muslims. The DUP, the second party after Umma, did not demand the invalidation of September Laws, while the NIF, the third party affirmed that Muslims are a majority in the Sudan so Shari'a would be the general source of law.

Chapter Four

The Period since 1989

Competition and Confrontation or Coexistence and Cooperation

The Period since 1989

Competition and Confrontation or Coexistence and Cooperation

4-1 Introduction:

The writer treated the period from 1989 in a separate Chapter because it is an important period for the development of the case study which is the concern of this research. In this period religion complicated the conflict when it became a symbol of identity for power sharing and control of resources.

In this period religion became a factor in the conflicting civil war when the Government of the National Salvation Revolution (NSR) which took the power in June 30, 1989 used the religion to further its own political aims. “Some scholars argue that the government’s attempt at defining Islam narrowly and forcing it on the country’s non-Muslim populations is at the core of conflict”[40]. Therefore the way this government implemented Islamic Shari’a Laws contributed to the tense relations between Christians and Muslims.

As defenders of Islamic ideals, National Islamic Front program constituted an important development in the religious dimension of the Southern question and in the North-South relations. The National Salvation Revolution (NSR) government remained committed to the Shari’a both as a religious motto and a guide to policy making. In the course it implemented many changes in plans, laws, programs and policy execution. Some of its acts and policies are of direct effect on our field of interest, in particular on Muslim/Christian relations in general and among the IDPs especially. Of those changes and acts come the following:

40 Lamin Sanneh, “Rilogion and conflict in Sudan, preface,” in religion and conflict in Sudan, Pauline’s publications Africa, Kenya, 1999, p11.

4-2 Public Order Laws:

In 1991 the government declared a penal Code aimed at filling in "Islamic" gaps in the September laws. The government set of codes included a section on Public Order; which provided that "a person who commits in public an act, or conducts himself in a manner, contrary to public morality, or wears an exposed dress and conduct which are offence punishable by flogging". As far as Khartoum State is concerned, this provision was elaborated in the 1996 Public Order Decree that penalizes by flogging for a wide range of hitherto common practices, such as a women being in the company of a male other than a (*Mahram*) (a near relative with whom marriage amounts to incest) [41].

Section 5 (3) of the Penal Code of 1991 makes the punishment of *Hudud* and (*Qisas)* inapplicable in the Southern States and exempts their inhabitants from provisions relating to apostasy, adultery, manufacture, possession and consumption of alcohol and wearing "immodest" dress. In view of the massive displacement caused by the war, the exemption is only a limited compensation to Southerners now living in Northern towns.

It should be noted that many Christians identify disruption of socio-religious functions as a critical factor in Christian-Muslim relationships in the Sudan. This is attributed to police action against IDPs camps. This constitutes a volatile encounter that results in confrontations with the public order police, who are discriminatory in implementing a public dress code with Christian targets in focus.

The Public Order Law is a law which is instituted on Islamic principalling and the commitment to Islamic public appearance is an Al-Ingaz government policy. The public order laws are to prevent practices

41 Mohamed Ibrahim khalil, Human Rights and Islamization of the Sudan Legal system, in religion and conflict in Sudan, Pauline's publications Africa, Kenya, 1999, P 61.

contradictory to Shari'a. The "benign customs", that the implementation of the public order and public appearance is its main goal. The "virtuous" external appearance is to protect woman through: (1) Proper Islamic dress. (2) Discipline in public streets' in terms of prohibiting mixing of males and females. (3) Combating negative practices. (4) Empowering strict Islamic religious behavior and attitudes in the society. (5) Control of public transports, public parks and clubs, as well as (6) Media. (7) The educational and the cultural aspects. In 1996 the authorities activated the laws and it performed many acts accompanied by intensive activities to promote them. The results were: (1) Intensive control attacks in the streets and public places. (2) Imposing of *Hijab* an Islamic dress on female employees and students (3) Recreation of the Mohtasib's (inspector of the behavior) role.[42]

Yom IDP Christian girl of 23 years narrates her experience with the public order police in the following way: at one time there were street riots in Khartoum. I was wandering the street wearing a short sleeves blouse; a policeman came across to me and asked why I was dressed in that way. "Is this your home town that you should dress like that [as if you were] in Juba (South capital town)?" I gave no reply. Someone explained to him; I might be Christian. The policeman said "Christian or not this is not her home town. She should respect the view of the others who are all Muslims". So I could give no answer. "This may as well be her own way of dressing but she should not wear this way here, let her do that in Juba or any where else", the policeman retorted.

[42] Bashir M. Bashir (supervisor), Al-tahwlat Al-Kubra Fee Al-Sudan 1989 - 2000 (major transformations in Sudan between 1989 and 2000), future studies series, future studies centre, Khartoum, 2002. (Written in Arabic).

The Public Order act was issued in Khartoum State and conducted by special courts called Public Order Courts. Public Order Courts are responsible for the implementation of Public Order Laws. These court's procedures are faster than the regular courts because usually in the regular courts you find indictment lawsuit, defence and witnesses unlike in Public Order Courts. Usually regular courts cases take time contrary to the Public Order Courts.

Though the last shortcoming had been solved in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement CPA which says; leniency and granting the accused the benefit of doubt are legal principles of universal application, especially in the environment of a poor society like the Sudan, which is just emerging from war, and characterized by poverty and massive displacement of people.

In contrast the Public Order Courts' judges take decision at the moment the case is brought before them. According to one advocate 60 to 100 cases can be adjudicated in one day because of fast procedures. In such cases there is no defense because the complainant is always policemen, security officials or public order police where the accused have no chance for defense.

4-3 Jihad and Christian-Muslim relations:

The religious dimension of the Sudan conflict has become more pronounced when the government of the National Salvation projected that the war in the South was an act of Jihad (holly war) with strong religious connotations. The government's point of view is that Jihad is being waged in defense of the land and the Islamic faith, in that a Shari'a state can only be constructed through Jihad, which is duty of every Muslim. "The Jihad (holly war) campaign was launched over the whole South,

against infidels "although, an infidel according to the interpretation of the Quran is someone with no religion, but I am a Christian. In addition to that Jihad is across the borders, but here they initiate Jihad against Sudanese Southerners" An IDP commenting on Jihad

The year 1992 was officially announced as the year of jihad that general Omar al-Bashir, was proclaimed imam al-jihad. On 27 April 1992 six pro-government religious leaders issued a fatwa (religious decree) legalizing jihad against the SPLA rebels in the Nuba Mountains in South Kordofan to liberate it from the infidel rebels. "This kind of Fatwa is a product of religious manipulation and may raise the question whether Islam authorises killing of Christians and other non-believers except in self-defense.[43]

The Popular Defense Forces (PDFs) and Mujahidin corps were launched and a tax called "financing the Jihad" was levied. Islamist Voluntary organizations established to advocate the cause of Jihad include Nidaa Al-Jihad (Call for Jihad) Munazamat Al-Shaheed (martyr Organization), with Salam al-Izza and Zad al-Mujahid, to provide material support to mujahdin families and food for warrior[44].

Gradually, fighting the war against the rebels in the South and other areas of Sudan became the ultimate form of Jihad. By 1993-1994 Jihad became the central theme of the government's projection of its war efforts.

To encourage and reinforce Muslim perception of Christians as infidels, the government has a policy towards the martyr's families. It trains the sons of these so-called martyrs to take their father's place. Kafino a Dinka Christian man living in Mandela camp said: when we

[43] Hunud Abia Kadouf, Religion and conflict in the Nuba Mountains, , in religion and conflict in Sudan, Pauline's publications Africa, Kenya, 1999 ,P. 109.
[44] Abdel Salam Sidahmed, The Unholy War: Jihad and the Conflict in Sudan, in religion and conflict in Sudan, Pauline's publications Africa, Kenya, 1999 , P. 87-88.

were very young, the real meanings of things were not clear for us. We used to go to the martyr's organization. There they mix politics with religion. They should not have called the donation which government officials gather for the cause of the Jihad against Christians "martyr benefits". They should call it war endowment. It is done to tempt our Christian Kinsfolk.

"In fact, the martyr organization is not mere military foundation; it is a religious institution too. They exploit the poor economic situation of killed soldier's heirs and give them foodstuff at the end of the month and ask that the elder son of the deceased soldier to become a Muslim. Such rations are given during Ramadan (Muslim fasting month), in addition to a sheep given on the occasion of the sacrifice Eid (Muslim yearly festival). Nothing of the sort is given on Christmas or any other Christian feasts to Christians who suffer similar fate of loss of a bread winner in the conflict. To my Christian respondents, the government utilizes such material benefits as enticements to proselytize Christians and coerce them to accept Islam in order to be liable for these benefits".

This material enticement is an aspect of the policy of the government to turn Christians into Muslim. Some Christians became Muslims but the majority of them refused to become Muslim. IDPs Christians feel that, partly because of their plight, they are direct targets of government assimilation strategies. They are directly to suffer untold humiliating experiences which will predispose them to convert to Islam in order to save themselves from physical annihilation. A respondent narrates his experience in this respect as follows:

"In 2004, something happened here in Mandela camp. There were certain elements who approached a group of 27 Christian people and tempted them to convert to Islam and told them that as they were good men, they wanted them to become Muslims, and in return jobs will be

availed to them. A number of those were Latokas who work for the government. They targeted the youth in their 20s and recruited them to Soba Permanent Camp where they were subjected to orientation courses. All of them were Latoka. They were taught the Wadu [Muslim ablution for prayers] and Salat [Muslim prayers] but ultimately, they received no jobs".

Even in such schemes, the government never fulfills its bargain but uses deception to bring about forced conversion or Islamization.

4-4 The Comprehensive Peace Agreement CPA (2005):

The question of Shari'a and the separation of religion and state provoked a lot of discussion and continued to challenge the peace talks between the government and the SPLM/A despite several efforts from mediators throughout many years between 1990s and 2003. Shari'a implementation still constitutes confusion and is yet to be settled in the National Capital Khartoum.

When Al-Ingaz government introduced an Islamic system of government Shari'a was openly declared through the Constitutional Decree No.13 which oblige magistrates to be guided by the Shari'a and Custom which is a subordinate source of legislation to the Shari'a.

Then religion became a factor in the civil war between the Government of Sudan and the rebel movement in the South which continued, on and off, till a cease fire was reached in October 2002. Religion was manipulated during the last decade by both parties for purposes of public mobilization, for political and material support.

During the last rounds of negotiations between the Government of Sudan and SPLM, defining the role of religion in public life was a thorny issue. The SPLM asked for a secular constitution which separates religion from state while the government defended the right of Muslims to implement Shari'a Islamic laws. Eventually the two parties reached an

agreed formula which is embodied in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and signed in January 2005. It included the protection of the Southern Sudanese from Islamic laws (3-2-2) "Nationally enacted legislation having effect only in respect of the states outside Southern Sudan shall have as its source of legislation Shari'a and the consensus of the people"[45]. In the CPA the respect of practicing religious rights and establishment of places for worship, issuing and disseminating religious material, and observing holidays on religious ceremonies in Chapter 6-5. The laws and beliefs of those concerned shall govern family matters. Citizenship shall not be subject to discrimination on grounds of religion or other beliefs.

The CPA includes "vague" charter about the National Capital in Chapter 2-4, which states that Khartoum shall be the capital of the Republic of the Sudan. As National Capital it shall be a symbol of national unity that reflects the diversity of Sudan.

The CPA stipulates that the Administration of the National Capital shall be representative and during the Interim period, the two Parties shall be adequately represented in the administration of the National Capital. The word National Capital is vague in the CPA because there is confusion whether the CPA talks about the Capital about Khartoum State.

In the CPA Human rights and fundamental freedoms as specified in the Machakos Protocol, and in the Agreement, include respect for all religions, beliefs and customs shall be guaranteed and enforced in the National Capital, as well as throughout the whole of Sudan and is enshrined in the National Interim Constitution. Law enforcement agencies of the Capital shall be representative of the population of Sudan and shall be adequately trained and made sensitive to the cultural,

[45] From the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), between the National Congress Party NCP and the Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army SPLM/A, 2005, Kenya.

religious and social diversity of all Sudanese. This research did not investigate the representation of the Sudanese population in the enforcement agencies, but the research finds the training for the authority agencies is not enough unless there is the existence of Law to protect these rights.

The CPA demands that judges and law enforcement agents, in dispensing justice and enforcing current laws in the National Capital be guided by:

1. Tolerance which is not easy to guarantee after 20 years of war.
2. Behaviors based on cultural practices and traditions, and not in flagrant disregard of the law or disturbing public order shall be deemed in the eyes of the law as an exercise of personal freedoms. Three years now since the signing of the CPA and still Public Order Police target Southerners during their cultural festivals regardless of the respect of cultural practices.
3. The judicial discretion of courts to impose penalties on non-Muslims shall observe the long-established legal (Shari'a) principle that non-Muslims are not subject to prescribed penalties, and therefore other penalties shall apply. In practice this principle is not implemented in the courts as many cases come daily to the courts and non-Muslims are subjected to Shari'a law.
4. A special commission shall be appointed by the Presidency to insure that the rights of non-Muslims are protected in accordance with the aforementioned guidelines and not adversely affected by the application of Shari'a Law in the Capital. The said commission shall make its observations and recommendations to the Presidency. Additionally, a system of mechanisms of guarantees shall be established to operationalize the above principle namely: establishment of specialized Attorney General Circuits to conduct

investigations and pretrial proceedings related to offences involving these principles.

Presidential Decree No. (24) Of the year 2006 establishing the Special Commission for the Rights of Non-Muslims and their protection from the application of Islamic Shari'a in the National Capital tabulates: [46]

a) To ensure that the National Capital is a symbol of National unity that reflects and enriches the religious, cultural and social diversity of the Country.
b) To guarantee the Rights of Non-Muslims in the National Capital in view of the application of Islamic Shari'a.
c) To further consolidate the spirit of tolerance and peaceful co-existence among the residents of the National Capital.
d) Ensure that all religions, beliefs and traditions are respected and that the spirit of tolerance and co-existence among the different creeds and cultures in the National Capital is consolidated.
e) Submits any observations and recommendations it deems fit to the Presidency.

Procedures of work of the commission is to lay out policies and plans to initiate Projects and programs aiming at consolidating the true values of tolerance and co-existence in collaboration with the citizens, community leaders, and concerned government units. Of its procedure is to take the initiative to contact any government or non-government entity to ensure that the Rights of non-Muslims are well observed in view of the application of Islamic Shari'a in the National Capital. And its task is to review complaints from citizen or entities with the view of studying and verifying such complaints through direct contact with the concerned bodies in Khartoum state.

[46] From the Constitution of the Special Commission for the Rights of Non-Muslims in the National Capital, Ministry of Presidency Affairs, Republic of Sudan, 2006.

However, the commission's work can not be implemented on the ground because there is no law supporting its work to sustain the rights of non-Muslims is Khartoum. The training and awareness initiatives put in CPA for the policemen and security officials to have special treatment for non-Muslims are not enough and can not grant the protection of the rights. The word "non-Muslim" is not well identified because in its composition the membership is representing Christians and Muslims and there is no mention of nonbelievers, and traditional religious believers.

The establishment of the commission took long time. Since its official start there is no significant work has been done so far due to the slow and complicated procedures. Illiteracy, ignorance, and mistrust can be obstacles for the IDPs non-Muslims to have access to such institution to look for their rights in such forums unless the commission moves to those places. The commission has no office or agencies inside the camps and its work does not include investigation and research in the IDP camps.

Chapter Five

Christians –Muslims Relations in the IDP camps

Christians –Muslims Relations in the IDP camps

5-1 Introduction:

This Chapter intends to analyze Christian-Muslim relations from the point of view of the IDPs in Mandela and Wad al-bashir Camps. This Chapter is divided into two sections. Section one is giving a description of the two camps where the research took place. Section two is presenting the findings and the elements of the Christians-Muslims relation in those camps.

5-2 Description of the IDP Camps:

5-2-1 Mandela:

Map of Mandela area

Source: Dar Consult: a private consulting company provides engineering & architectural consultancy services for both public and private sectors, Hurria St., Khartoum – Sudan.

Mandela camp or Mayo Al-Mazari' as it is called in the official documents is 18 klm south of Khartoum center. It was established in 30 June 1991 when the displaced were transferred from Al-Shoak Area inside Khartoum Town. In 1990 the displaced were moved to the present Mandela area which lies to the Eastern periphery of Jabel Awlya locality. The total camp area is approximately 5 sq.kms surrounded by other low-cost districts and slums, population is 10,000 families approximately.

Originally the displaced had resided in the area without prior agreement of the government authorities. Both the locality (Mahallia) and the Khartoum State officials were not convinced. Government officials say the problems in Mandela stem from the fact that people resided and extended their slums and encroached into farm areas. The owners of those farms took the cases to the court and demanded their lands be evacuated or compensated and the problem is still waiting to be solved. But the citizens insisted to inhabit the area against the formal wishes of the government and named their residence Mandela after the great South African black leader. They looked upon themselves as freedom fighters and defended their cause against the government wishes.

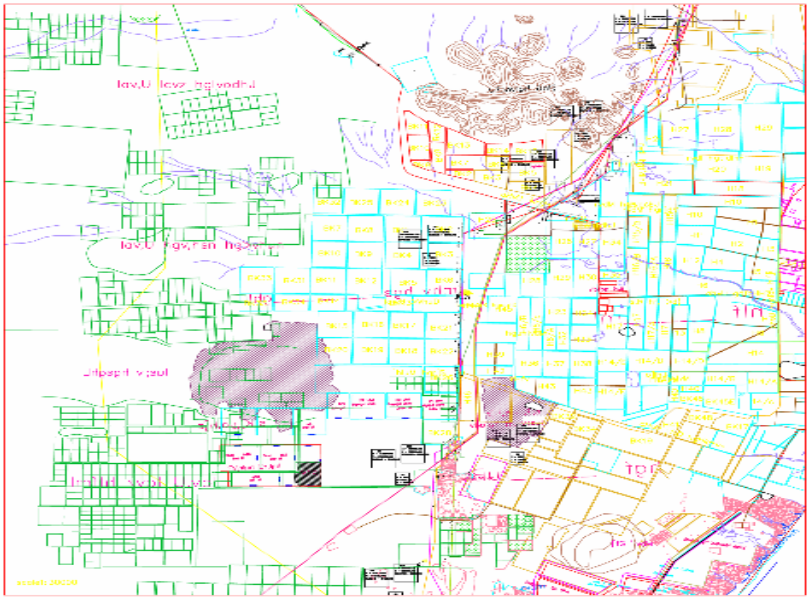
The government policy towards the area is based on the fact that Mandela camp is a temporary area and the residents are supposed to move to Sundus II (another government camp). Mandela residents refused to move because they cleaned the acacia bushes off the place and actually resided. They have the impression that the government sold the place to Saudi Arabian investors.

The study area is composed of seven settlement squares: 1) Central Square, 2) the Eastern, 3) the Western, 4) Kurdofan, 5) Wau square, 6) Ghabbush, 7) Wadi square. It is noticed that each settlement square is occupied by specific dominant ethnic group along with a few numbers of other minor ethnic groups. The major ethnic gatherings are: Dinka Bahr

El Gazal, Dinka Farno, Shiluk, Nuer, Nuba Mountain's ethnic groups, a mixture of Faratit and Equatorians, Furs and other group from Western Sudan.

The camp is an indefinite, casual and unplanned settlement. The area is an annex of Mayo district an older slum. The groups of immigrants had originally came from Dar Al-Salam area and settled here. The reasons for displacement vary from one group to the other, but the majority moved in because of war. Most of the people stay in the camp hoping for the town planning to assign them plots of land. They practice limited activity of buying and selling or stay idle in the camp to receive relief support and donations from the NGOs. The residents originally used to depend upon subsistence and pastoral farming which they had practiced in their home areas before flight and relocation. They were dependant on the relief support by foreign NGOs and when the flow of relief shrank to a trickle in the last twelve to fifteen months, conditions were aggravated and the displaced faced serious crisis. This is so in all aspects of living. Public services are completely absent and the unemployed amount to nearly 90% of the population. The working force is mainly composed of women who either make liquor and other local drinks or serve in houses outside the camp. Unemployment generates a sense of estrangement and protest on the part of the residents towards the government. There is also a general feeling of frustration towards the CPA. There is a grand sultan (chief's) court in Mandela market place beside other smaller native courts on ethnic basis. Chiefs settle disputes but their courts are less important at the present and less cared for and respected by the displaced?

5-2-3 Wad al-bashir:



Map of Wad al-bashir area

Source: Dar Consult: a private consulting company provides engineering & architectural consultancy services for both public and private sectors, Hurria St., Khartoum – Sudan.

Wad Al-bashir camp is 17 klm from Khartoum center (West Omdurman), it was established in 1991. Administratively it is part of Al-Bug'aa locality. It is bordered by Block 43 to the North, Block 42 to the East and Block 46 named Al-Kawther to the West. To the South it is bordered by John Madet area which is divided into squares 51 and 52. The camp was included in the Residential plan which was designed to rectify the casual slum housing problem. Planning project partly took place and about 5000 land plots of a size 216 square meters a plot were handed out to families. The vast majority of families are not included in the plan but are waiting and hoping to receive plots. The population includes different ethnic groups; the largest of them are Dinka of Aweil of Northern Bahr Al Gazal. The Nuba of Southern Kurdofan are second in number, then the Nuer, shilluk and Azandi and Latuka tribes of

Equatoria. From Darfur came the Fur, Zaghawa, Bargo, Masaleet; and from Northern Kurdofan the Kababish Arabs. The cause of immigration of the majority of the population is war. There is also a presence of ethnic groups from North and Central Sudan who work as retail traders in the settlement.

No economic variations exist in the standard of living between the displaced population. Poverty is prevalent and unemployment is normal. Unemployment rate is very high. The labor force consists mainly of unskilled workers working in building and construction on daily basis outside the area. This is so for men and women who work in domestic service. Families mainly live on the income by women and children who work as domestic hands down town.

Social groupings and gatherings take place in clubs, Sultans' houses, and market places. Time is passed playing cards and domino games. A great number of the people have had some schooling: Some hold Sudan School Certificate (General Secondary Education completion certificate) and a few are university graduates. Some are fluent in the English language. Yet, in spite of their linguistic skills and academic attainments, life for them is hard as starvation spreads and poverty is malignant. Houses are mainly constructed of wood, straw, carton and jute sacks. Generally there is peaceful coexistence among the different ethnic groups within the camp, and religious coexistence between Muslims and Christians.

5-3 Christians-Muslims Relations in the IDP Camps:

There is a strong inference from my respondents that religious festivals provide better opportunities for interfaith solidarity among people of different religious traditions. It is a common practice in both Muslim and Christian communities to pay visits to neighbors during religious festivals and holidays. As Fardos Hamza, Muslim 30 year's old

woman who lives in Wad-albashir, stated “We are neighbors, we exchange visits especially in religious festivals (Eids). This is particularly so with our neighbor named Al-toma who is a Christian. When they dance [collective] we go there to witness and participate in the dance with them. Also when they have mourning feasts, we as well participate with them.

Most interactions among the residents of the IDP camps revolve around the mutual feelings that colleagues share with others. A substantial number of respondents consider markets, homes and public transport as other forums of interfaith contacts.

A Dinka Christian man, Kafino Saterlino said: “In Khartoum in all my activities we participate with Muslims and we have discussions in most cases. Yet most important and to make life easy we respect others and apply the religious call for love of each other. Here in Mandela, I have not faced any questions about religious ideas or my conforming to a sect or to a [particular] religion.”

The survey revealed important findings concerning perceptions and relationships demonstrating how displaced Muslims and Christians express their interfaith perspectives. Specifically, people’s experience inside the camps is that there is no difference between Christians and Muslims. For instance, Christians find out that Islam as a religion has great deal of positive values. In their daily living experience people who have been lumped together by fate and not by choice, skip the issue of religion and live like fellow neighbours. The practice of religion has not resulted in confrontations or quarrelling. The populations, diverse as they are, live in mutual respect as neighbors; they exchange greetings and goodwill on occasions of religious festivals.

In the planned areas the Lot (lottery system Gor'a) for allotting land plots gives the opportunity to experience the mixing and interaction of different tribes and different communities living together in the same place. According to the officials of the camps, 'Gor'a' system doesn't discriminate between people. The recent developments force the IDPs to change their old ways and traditions of behavior. It makes people leave their relatives and move to live with others in the hope of qualifying for the lot. That is the reason why you find Christians and Muslims living together in one place peacefully ignoring their tribalism and religious intolerance.

There is another level of collaboration between Christians and Muslims in the Camps, in the economy and trade. Many NGOs and Community Based Organizations CBOs including for instance Peace and Development Association (PDA) in Wad-albashir work in the camps, in implementing projects depending on investments and income generation namely grocery business, boutiques, retail, and small stores trade …etc and poultry projects in Mandela Camp are implemented by women groups. These trade functions through groups of IDPs. Each group consists of between 15 to 20 individuals. In such projects Christians and Muslims work together, where the two communities are members in collective projects with joint accounts and common marketing efforts.

Sawa Sawa (together together) Association is another example from Wad-albashir. Christian and Muslim members of the association concur on the same objectives, and share the same questions. They co-operate in projects planning as well as share in implementing those projects. So far Sawa Sawa implemented water distribution projects, adult education and other activities. In partnership with other NGOs like UNIMIS, Save the Children and CARE, Sawa Sawa implemented Child

protection and other important projects. In these projects you find Christians and Muslims working together in harmony.

Christian Relief Service (CRS) is an NGO of saving and a quasi type of banking project among the inhabitants are run by women. The researcher attended a graduation ceremony when she found Christian and Muslim women together sharing the same economic objectives. African Center for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) is implementing projects on Domestic Gardening, Crockery Handicraft and other projects which depend on teamwork. The teams usually have Christians and Muslims working together.

In political attitudes, it is recognized that before and after the Comprehensive Pease Agreement CPA, many Christian Southerners supported the leading NCP (controlling party). It is known in the political process that the NCP offers material appeal and services to mobilize people. That is why it is not strange to find Southern Christians among the NCP members because for some of the IDPs it guarantees housing and services in Khartoum. After CPA most Southerners realized that they have rights to be achieved through the Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army SPLM/A. Also among the latter party you find Muslims/Christian and Northerners/Southerners working together for the vision of New Sudan regardless of religions and ethnicity affiliation.

The two parties SPLM and NCP are the most represented parties in the camps where in one house you can find two brothers belong to the two parties with different ideologies but they live together and “eat from the same plate” regardless of their ideological differences. The point here is that religion does not constitute barrier to political attitudes of the IDPs in the Camps.

5-4 Issues affecting Christian-Muslim Relations:

Though the research has revealed that religion is not a barrier at the grassroots level, but it demonstrates that issues of religious conflict are present at national and government levels. This situation is apparent when the interviewees identify factor of religion as the cause of political incentives in the process and patterns of religious manipulation. The majority of respondents of both religions agree that religion is used as an instrument of political incentives.

5-4-1 Political Power:

According to Prisilla, a Christian respondent, “there is a problem if you want to be a leader; as it is difficult became Christians are marginalized and disencouraged.

The declaration of the Sudan as an Islamic republic raises the question whether a non-Muslim can be president of the Republic. Sadiq El-mahdi, leader of Umma Party, answers the question negatively but hastens to say that this need not to worry Southern politicians as, at any rate, the Muslim majority would not vote for a non-Muslim as head of the state. By failing to make distinction between constitutional rights on the one hand, and the political chance of implementing them on the other, Sadiq misses the relevance of an important political controversy.

Dr Hassan Turabi, the NIF’s [former] Ideologue, however, concedes a non-Muslim’s right to be nominated for that position. He defends his political stance by arguing that as no Southerner can ever secure the necessary majority of votes, the country would always end up with a Muslim as a head of state. Accordingly, he maintains, to concede a non-Muslim’s eligibility for nomination would not, in effect, constitute infringement of the Shari’a.

5-4-2 Education:

The educational system also influences the relations between Christians and Muslims. One of the policies that complicated the situation was the Islamization of the educational system.

The current Curriculum and the educational system as a whole are Islamized. There is therefore a need to review the general curriculum so that it accommodates different religions in the Sudan. Criticism advanced against the educational system in Sudan revolves around the issue of school curriculum, especially at the level of basic education. Yom Deng could not have framed the problem involved in this area in better terms:

"In the curricula of education, I came across nothing that reflects Christianity, not a single item. Most of the illustrations are drown from Islamic Poems, Quranic verses or Sahaba [Prophet Mohamed's companions] ruling. Inversely there is no single instance, offers illustration quoting the Bible or Christian Saints' in school textbooks. In school curricula the Islamic content might not change altogether, but there it should at least include a teacher for Christian education [in public schools]. It is improper for a small number of pupils to resit for Christian lessons in the afternoon for three days a week. This way a pupil can not assimilate what is learned. Once school fees are paid in full, knowledge should be taught in full including Christian religion. Now Christian pupils have to pay extra fees for their religious lessons".

In looking at the role of religion in conflict and peace, the opinions of members of both Islam and Christianity point to a deliberately skewed emphasis on the curriculum towards inculcating Islamic knowledge and debating Christian knowledge. As should be expected, such factors and practices of religious discrimination in schools and in shaping of attitudes affect inter-faith coexistence. Religious discrimination contributes to intolerance through structures of public learning and the attitude of

teachers. A sizeable number of Christians find that attitudes of teachers are partly responsible for the discrimination in schools. The attitudes of teachers could also influence trends of intolerance among students, as Solomon Oliha a Christian young man from Mandela reported saying:

"I was once studying in an Institute in the town. One day I was trying to leave the class when the Islamic education instructor was getting in. He stopped me at the door of the classroom and insisted that I attend. I refused and we argued. I reported this to the director's office and it was solved there but it moved me a great deal".

The content of the curriculum affects relationships in private and in public schools. Christians are more concerned about the infusion of Islamic references and illustrations in different subjects in the curriculum for basic schools and the complete absence of Christian references and quotations. The curriculum is structured to shield Muslim pupils and students from Christian influences of any kind while at the same time exposing Christian pupils to a high dose of Islamic ideas and materials.

Policies where the entire syllabus was changed and the Islamic Quranic understanding and Quranic verses were introduced in all aspects from Mathematics to Sciences to everything which became difficult because the children were now being indoctrinated. Islamic verses are forced on all children; who have to learn them, otherwise they fail the exams. This was very difficult and one has to choose between going to school or to struggle.

Christian Education is not taught in government schools. There is demand that Christian Education is taught in government schools, and Christian Education teachers be employed by the government and trained on the job. The public schools are open to all children although their rights are not wholly met. Public schools do not provide teachers of

Christian education. It costs parents additional money to pay for the religious education of their children in private centers that offer such teaching services.

5-4-3 Civil Service:

1. The rights of non-Muslim/Christian are not recognized by the government in national festivals and official holidays. There is demand of recognition of Christian rights in religious festivals and official holidays under the CPA and in the Interim Constitution.
2. Freedom of worship is not guaranteed for all Christians at workplaces and Sunday service is not always observed by some public and private sectors employers and civil service leading officials. There is demand for freedom of worship to be granted to all as stipulated in the CPA and the interim national Constitution and interim constitution of Khartoum State.
3. Closing all food selling places during Ramadan is an infringement on the rights of non-Muslims in Khartoum State and therefore should not be continued.
4. Equal rights not given to all civil servants according to merit and qualifications. There is the demand that all government employers be treated equally and according to qualifications or merit. As has been pointed out earlier, the absence of job opportunities is one of the crucial challenges facing the displaced persons in Khartoum. Unemployment is a national problem in Sudan and most of the people suffer from it but the migrant people in Khartoum, many of whom are Christians, feel this problem more acutely because “there are people who are discriminated upon in the employment because when you go for employment you have to be asked

Quranic verses, if you do not recite them you are out of the interview" in the words of Paul Jandlo.

Similarly, there are cases like *"some young people who have had problems and affected and were not able to work in (al-Dara'ib) [Chamber of taxation] because they refused to employ him in the taxation, they said no because taxation includes Zakat and a non-Muslim can not find work there"*.

In the camps there are many university graduates living in straw huts and slump who can not have jobs because they are Christians as some respondent attest. *"This is so because discrimination is there in Sudan before hand. When I presented my certificate to an interview board, it was sorted into whether Christian or Muslim and they take the latter"*.

Similar to state departments, some Companies give priority to Muslims and no Christian can secure a job in such institutions. As Dinka Christian Kafino Saterlino stated, even if one is recruited for the job there is always the insistence for him to become Muslim first, and then be given the employment only after: *"My father tried to work for Al-higra (Prophet Mohamed Migration) Roads and Construction Company [reputed to belong to Osama Ben Laden group of companies] but the condition to get the job was to be a Muslim"*.

5-4-4 Lands Allotment:

Churches are denied plots of land by the government in the North, because of the old missionary act of 1962, which has up to now not been removed from the books. The Christians demand to have the law repealed, so that the churches can apply for lands in Khartoum State and all other Northern States through the official channels of the land allocation authorities. Once the law that prohibits having land is repealed, churches can apply for lands for Christian service and activities in residential areas according to plans of Ministry of Housing.

Both Christians and Muslims agree on the occurrence of conflicts between Christians and State institutions. The reality is that the Church and the State are frequently at odds with each other over policy development, confiscation of Church properties and demolition of Church buildings by authorities of Khartoum State under the pretext of town planning. The State has relentlessly targeted the church in demolishing its worship places, confiscating other property in the guise of development project. Churches do not accept the explanation that their centers are demolished because of the imperative of the government to develop the country. It is frequently seen that Muslim praying centers are spared while those belonging to Christians are demolished.

There are other important issues which came out of the series of interviews during this study. One significant fact that emerged is the strong potential for inter-communal violence when a religious property is under the threat of destruction or confiscation. Important parish centres had been destroyed according to Prisila:

"The famous case of the Church which is now part of the [Republican] Palace, if you go next to the Mosque you will find another church property which is now a museum. It had been a Church, we went to pray there…now we can no longer pray there; and the government took it over and took off the tower and got the cross off. It is now like any other building".

The IDPs have problems because the Churches in the IDPs camps were destroyed, after a long time they were allowed to build one Church on condition that it can not have a marked cross and can not have a tower. There are other practices which are prohibited and against the law for churches to do, including the use of microphones. A number of important Churches in the casual resident districts were demolished for municipal

planning. Such behavior has given the government a negative profile within the IDPs community.

In addition to the government's official dealings with the church which many non-Muslims and some sympathetic Muslims point to as excessive are also taken to be repressive. Some of the interviewees point out overt religious discrimination in government practices in respect of land allocation. There is no law against building Churches, but the long procedures can be an obstacle when government delays issuing new licenses for the construction of Christian worship places. Christians deal with the situation in innovative ways: a license is acquired for an alternative purpose and then converted to a Church. This is not an issue with the construction of a new Mosque, a complicated procedure to license is not required for the construction of a mosque and no mosque suffers the fate of demolition or expropriation as church properties experience. Solomon Oliha from Mandela cites another example of government action against Christians which was capable of raising social tension and souring the relationship between Christians and Muslims.

Near the military college, there was an area called Kharabat [ruins] by the soldier's residential area. It is an hour's drive from Khartoum. The Kharabat was inhabited by the displaced in 1995. They decided to build a church. The construction reached a good point; then it was destroyed by orders of the State. People living in those marginalized areas are treated as animals, not human beings in the way the government treats and relates to them. The Church was destroyed before the Eid prayers. That was according to the instructions from the commander [who is a Muslim functionary of the State].

5-4-5 Religious activities:

IDPs express lack of freedom for open air preaching by non-Muslims in Khartoum State and other Northern states. Christians demand

freedom for open air preaching. Despite the availability of potentials for positive interfaith opportunities, certain incidents continue to spark crises and occasional inter-communal violence. This happens between Christians and Muslims by proxy in different situations. Story told by Stephen Wani from Mandela Camp:

"Once in Khartoum North, two or three years ago some colleagues of mine tried to preach the Bible in an open space. Suddenly a number of people appeared carrying swords; they looked like Ansar [Muslim Fanatics]. Most programs of the Christians in Khartoum do not take place in open air or in Market place like what happens in the South. There we conduct programs in gathering places like Sug Alarabi [in Khartoum]. Here organization [of activities] must take place in a Hall or a Stadium. Official security permissions are necessary. The problems are the fundamentalists and they are there even among us, Christians. They are people with dogmatic mentality henceforth we have to restrain our activities so we can avoid clashes. We did not try again since that incident in Khartoum".

5-4-6 Ministry of Guidance and endowment:

Many Christians demand that in the ministry of Guidance and endowment, the Department of Christian affairs must be headed by a Christian. The Ministry must support churches just similar like the Mosques. The Ministry of Guidance and Endowment should be called the Ministry of Religious Affairs as it used to and have a state minister who is a Christian.

5-4-7 Judiciary:

The judiciary should maintain its independence according to CPA and interim national constitution. And it is recommended the speeding up of the formation of Special Courts for non-Muslims in Khartoum State according to article 158 of Interim National Constitution 2005 “A system

shall be established to guarantee the implementation of Article 156 of Dispensing Justice in the National Capital". There is also demand for freedom of conversion from Islam to Christianity and vice-versa with equal treatment of converts (Christians/Muslims).

5-4-8 Media: Radio, News Papers & T.V.:

Christian programs and activities are not allowed in the National Radio and National T.V. and in Khartoum State Radio and T.V. Christians are not allowed to issue a Christian news papers.

Conclusion

The Internally Displaced Persons of Mandela and Wad al-Bashir camps are always emphasizing the values of interfaith tolerance and peaceful coexistence among themselves. The displaced people preserve no differences among themselves along religious lines in their daily life. IDPs tend to perceive the community inside the camps as a homogeneous community united against the other which is different and separate.

The issues of religious conflict for the displaced are at national and government levels. The majority of respondents of both religions agree that religion is used as an instrument of political interests. Other actors such as religious institutions and community members play lesser roles in the use of religion for other purposes.

The study also showed that many Christians identify the Public Order laws as a critical factor in Christian-Muslim relationships in the camps. This is attributed to the police action against IDP camps which is seen discriminatory. Other issues related to alcohol drinking, and making, and the way somebody dresses should not necessarily apply to Christians.

Both Christians and Muslims agree on the occurrence of conflicts between Christians and State institutions. The reality is that the Church and the State are frequently at odds with each other over development policy, confiscation of Church properties and demolition of Church buildings by authorities of Khartoum State under the pretext of town planning. It is also noted that the inter-communal violence is potential when a religious property is under the threat of destruction and confiscation. This is the situation when authorities of Khartoum State confiscated Church premises and many important parish centers were destroyed inside the IDP camps.

The researcher observed that there are obstacles towards Christians-Muslims peaceful coexistence. Ignorance is seen to destroy dialogue as it breads some prejudice about other groups' Religions. Then this Prejudice is in the context of misunderstanding the other's religious values. There is always suspicion of fear of conversion to Islam by a Christians when he or she walks with Muslims together. Also members of the two religions tend to believe that their religion is the only true belief. Other Social factors that block the dialogue between the groups include politics and ethnicity.

The research revealed that formal political attitude and behavior go contrary to the popular trends in interfaith practice in the camp communities. The analysis of the perceptions about the Christian-Muslim relations at this level is supposed to be valued, promoted and institutionalized by political actors namely the governments and political parties.

Appendixes

Appendix1

Transcription of the Interviews

(1)

Name	Abdalla Fidail
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Married
Age	Above 45 years
Religion	Muslim
Current Place of Residance	Wasd al-bashir

I resided in Wad al-bashir for the last 10 years since 1997. I earn my living in the market in Wad al-bashir. The relations are reconciliatory between Muslims and Christians in Wad al-bashir. No one affects the other or gets affected. We are in an exchanged accord and understanding. There is even fraternity between Sultans (chiefs of joint tribes) and we consist a joint court. We also hold a meeting (of chiefs) every Friday to discuss and settle small and simple problems within the vicinity. Problems like quarrels among women and also men. Such quarrels are not related to religion. I can say that most of the quarrels occur between our southern brothers. They are of families who came here because of war. Some of them lost relatives and therefore suffer. There usually someone to move and earn living.

Q1. As Sheiks what role do you play?

We offer help to the Zakat (Islamic formal charity) elements. We enlist names of those eligible (very poor) for endowments. The problem of the Zakat is that it is only offered in Eid times (religious festivals).

Our shortages are in services. There is no sufficient education, health care, electric power and clean water. We ask for town planning

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because an unplanned area cannot get regular services. Planning comes first. So we can not strongly demand for further services.

There are small dispensaries but no medical centers. A sick person is only left to go to Umdurman in the condition of difficult transport. There is no way to transport a midnight emergency case. Ambulance service is not available.

We face the problem of service cost (formal fees and duties). Not all the people can afford paying the fees, some are completely unable. This is why children get no schooling. They just stay at home, especially the kids of our southern brothers. Those who can get education among them are few. This pushes them to go and do temporary jobs on daily basis from sunrise to sunset and in most cases they can not find that even.

Unemployed receive no help, neither by the NGOs nor by the government. There is an NGO which is concerned about the newly born who are given cards for follow up.

The Islamic Da‘wa Organization is active movement these days compared to days before. They make prayer places in empty spaces. There is a nearby mosque rebuilt by red bricks instead of the previously mud bricks. Thank God it will be inaugurated soon. That was on subsidy by Islamic Dawa Organization. Of their activities is an intention to build office premises and start illiteracy irradication campaign.

At the present there are no Khalwas (informal Quranic School) available, but we work for that. A Khalwa can replace school in teaching reading and writing capacity.

In the meantime the voluntary return program started. Some people have received the voluntary return cards. Some of them like to return back. But others don’t, because they are bound by schools and others have settled and got jobs.

Q2: Voluntary return is an outcome of the peace agreement. Do you expect any effect or change as a consequence of that?

Concerning Wadelbashir and on both sides of the government and SPLM, I saw no tangible results. This place is supposed to be a displaced camp.

Q3: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

Number one is town planning. This is what we are waiting for. And there should be security control so the citizen can feel safe where he lives. Services are offered in planned areas. Water supply network and electricity are not very far from here. In the last ten years the relations in Wadelbashir are generally tolerable, it is all brotherhood, no discrimination, and every one respects the other. Even when there is a meeting (of chiefs) it is usually started by Quran recitations and Christians read verses from the Bible.

Q4: Why don't you take kids to Comboni School?

Because Islamic education lessons are not taught there. It is afterward required especially in higher levels in schooling.

Q5: When the riots broke between Muslims and Christians (following Dr. Garang's Death) did you positively contribute in pacifying rivals? You are sheikh (Chief) with moral power. It was said that in the Mosque of square 3 leaders negatively contributed. They describe southerner as infidels?

The violence was not directed from the part of the Christians only. The trouble makers included Muslims and Christians. For example our brothers here are mostly Muslims; there are also Christians (they were all on the same side). What happened was not based on religion it was done by the irresponsible elements. That time we were living here, if the conflict was of any relation to religion, we would have been the first to

suffer. We have gone to pacify people. My self, the Sultans (southern chiefs) and the popular committee members did that together. We held an emergency meeting in the popular committee premises with the purpose that no tribal conflicts should arise. We discussed no religious dimensions because the southern Muslims participated in the events on the same side. We never felt that here is a Muslim and here is a Kafir (infidel). I my self am contented that Christianity is a religion from God.

Q6: The role of Zakat (Muslim Charity Endowments) and the popular committees:

Most important is that popular committees adopt no distinction. They side with the weak that deserves help whether Muslim or Christian. They affect their role and enlist names. I write down names of widows and elderly. We made a statistical count for the local authority. We worked as informants together with the Sultans. The count was about the people coming from the southern states especially those affected by war along with those coming from Southern Blue Nile, Southern Kurdufan (Nuba), Bahr Alqazal and the Equatoria. This was purposely for the peace program and the plan of unity and/or separation. A new program is the health insurance process. The uninsured families are to submit documents like Nationality Card, Marital certificate and Kid's certificates of birth. This is a program for the inhabitants here. We made clear for our people that the program is directed to the benefit of any Sudanese person living here. I go to people at home and inform them explaining that the program requires the documents and name registration at the committee place.

In addition to a copy of ID Card, the nationality department officials will come and issue nationality cards for those who don not have them.

I am the sheikh of the Habanya (southern Darfur tribe) and all the other Arab elements living in wadelbashir. Should any problem arise we resolve it.

In Islam and according to explicit text we believe in all heavenly books. On the religious level I do not feel that the government plays discriminatory role on religious basis in our place. We all descend from Adam. Adam descended from a handful of earth. No difference between south and the north. People there (in the south) are kind and in mosques and Khalwas no one interrupts the job of the other.

(2)

Name	Alfatih Alnau
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Married
Age	36
Religion	Muslim
Current Place of Residance	Wasd al-bashir

I am Alfatih Alnau, I am Muslim, and I live in Wad al-bashir since 1993. I haven’t got a permanent job; I deal in mobile phone sets, shoes and clothes. I turn to where profit is, especially in occasion times, which is in Alsug Alarabi (Down Khartoum Town). I have no education, in the beginning I worked in a garage I learnt car mechanics, I didn’t go to school. I lived in Alfitihab (Omdurman Suburb) square 15 in Aldikak area (cow kraal as he explained). I was born in Alsahafa Zalat (Khartoum town middle class area).

My father had discords with mother, they separated. I came here with mother; she lives with us together with my wife and kids. I have brothers and a sister who is married and is living in Jabal Awlya (45 KMs

South Khartoum). We are originally from Darfur but I haven't lived there.

Wad al-bashir is now over populated. It started very small and then expanded. Flow of inhabitants rose rapidly since 1996 till 2007. Some people are now ready to sell houses and return back as peace was reached.

Q1: How do you find the nature of the relationship between members of the Christian and Muslim communities in Wad al-Bashir?

Wad al-Bashir is a mixed place. It contains Muslims, Christians and animists; no body interferes in affairs of others. Here is the Mosque and here is the Church, you can go where you feel comfortable. We are fine and we cooperate.

Q2: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Muslim, in practicing your religion?

No problems, in the area of religion I never interfere, every one has his own faith. Here is my friend (he pointed to him), he is Christian and I am Muslim. We take meals together and we go with each other. His prayers are separate and mine is separate too. We have no problem in interaction between Muslims and Christians in Wad al-Bashir here. The majority is basically Christian; they make about 70% of the inhabitants.

Christians are actually of so many tribes, the Latuka and the Nuer mix together. The Nuer have their own living place near the Church. There is a number of Churches, 4 or 5 Churches. But the principal one is that in the Market place. The rest are temporary erected. Mosques are so many; their building was supported by organizations. The Islamic Dawa has recently come and built the Mosque which you can see in front of you. They built another one westwards at the back.

Q3: How do you find government's behavior in Wad al-bashir?

Government presence in Wad al-bashir is only recent it showed up first in year 2000, but before it was not here unless there is a problem. They arrive after a telephone call, solve the problem and disappear again. Thank God they make a police station nearby, adjacent to John Madeet Camp. A police point was newly opened in Sug John and Sug Sita (Market places). Now there are no crimes like before. Before the liquor drinkers rob strangers who come to Wad al-bashir, thefts committing and threatening was wide, now the situation is better.

There are a number of Schools in addition to another one inside the Church. It is of Comboni Schools, most pupils of this vicinity learn there. As for the health part, there are health centers like FAR Children Center; there is a private clinic at the Transport Station. There is also a Maternity Clinic. The FAR center takes care of newly born babies and gives nutrition and medical care for two weeks. The government built no hospital; all medical centers belong to the organizations. This is why we have to move to Sug Libya (Omdurman suburb).

Since I arrived here I saw no role for the government. As for Churches, any one goes there if he is interested, if not one passes over, and so is the carefor Mosques.

Q4: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

I wish the government would hand us over (registered land plots). We are here since 1993; some people came here recently and received permanent residential plots. I am not sure of the basis of leasing land, this is their policy and it is their own way, I can't talk about that. Yet we haven't received land plot up to date. We picked the toss, now we remain waiting for our plots to be actually allotted, no one showed up yet. This is the governmental plan in housing. Most of the people living here are only

casually staying and indefinitely building temporary homes, any time you will be instructed to dismantle. I had a destroyed house before, it was in Alrahman Square. Those who received plots were given in our old places. There only a few of them are there since of our times. I hope that the government builds us Hospitals and Security Stations. Priority should be given to Hospitals because we sometimes suffer at midnight, and the nearest health service is found in Sug Libya or Omdurman.

I can’t talk about the government in any way. (I encouraged him reminding that we are citizens having duties and rights because we are tax payers). That is true we pay all dues and fees we are asked for. I picked the land registration toss two and half years ago. I am now building a house in a place which might have been allotted to somebody else who might any time show up and ask me to move. Shall I dismantle it again and go to live in a shed once more and get into jeopardy? That is my biggest problem, the state of instability. I have 4 kids, I divided them with relatives, and they live with my aunts. But we need that the government brings a bag of money to be given to each house in Wad al-bashir.

(Knowing that I am conducting a research he advised me as follows :) You might not receive positive responses from the people of Wad al-bashir. As some people came before you and talked about Human Rights, they scattered in the vicinity dropping down from four big Pickups, males and females of your age, they asked deep down to the very secrets of households, about meals, what we eat, what we drink, they asked about income. We believed them, but they didn’t come back. We became suspicious of anyone who comes here holding papers.

(3)

Name	Bakheit Eltayeb
Gender	Male

Marital Status	Married
Age	33 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residance	Wasd al-bashir

I am Bakheit Eltayeb. I was born in 1975 in Torit. I started my education in West Torit School in 1980. In 1985, I moved to Kapoita because of war. I again moved in 1988 to Loram village. I stayed there for three years and in 1992 I returned to town of Torit. This time to Torit, Eastern School and sustained education in Arabic language. I finally moved to Khartoum in 1995 and joined Abkadock School in Omdurman. Then moved to Comboni College to complete class eight. I had my secondary school in St. Vincent. I sat for the Sudan school certificate in 2000. For the National Service, I joined the Sudan Pride Batch four. I had my training with the Central Reserve Squad (Police Force). In 2002, I was transferred to Marchers Battalion's – accounts department. I spent 5 years there and sat again for the general education certificate, but failed to pass it. I was employed by a Chinese company and repeated SSC and admitted to Juba University in 2006, School of Management Studies. I applied for a job and was employed by EU in a guard post. I originally came from Larido village in East Equatoria and I am living with my family now in Wad al-bashir. I am a Christian, but I know Islam well. I studied Quran to acquaint myself with it, and I discovered that it leads one to excell in Arabic. I was accustomed to read Islamic books and wanted someone to help to me to understand more about Islam. I have special interest in comparative studies between Islam and Christianity.

Q1: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Christian, in practicing your religion?

I go to church regularly on Sundays. I did my confession when I was 7 years old, so God may forgive me for bad things I have done at the present in Wad al-bashir. I do the same by attending prayers led by the Priest and the chorus and the bible. The priest usually chooses a verse related to the day, this takes me back to when those verses were said. A verse is usually quoted from Luka and Pauls.

There are as many churches as the Christian sects. I am a catholic. I know a little about other sects, because I have not gone to pray with them. The bible is, however, the same whatever the interpretation is. We face no problem about prayers, because a church embodies us all and we respect each others. To me, the church is the source of respect, as whenever we disperse from there, we feel happy. Sometimes I can't go to church to say my prayers; I do that at home and ask God to accept them.

Q2: Has your belonging to a Christian tradition helped you to coupe with life in this city?

Tribes differ in traditions and habits. For example, Baria are different from Dinka. They have things in common and are different in others. I see there is conflict of cultures. Each one sticks to his own traditions and culture. If anything affects my culture, I must defend mine. For example, previously, there were attacks within tribes like women kidnapping among the Latoka. This is no longer done. So things change. In Islam also things are similar. In early Islam, the Khalifa searched houses and also there was adultery punishment.

Indeed, culture is tied to religion, being Christian; I have to respect other cultures. I like to know about different religions and compare between them afterwards to arrive at differences and tackling ways.

Q3: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Khartoum?

All people are alike. I take my Muslim neighbor for a brother. We are all offspring's of Adam and Eve. If a Muslim is in need of water to wash for prayers, I would offer the water needed, and in Wad al-bashir here, some people make relations, other people do not. You can't know what in consciences. Generally, interaction is ok.

To me, as a unionist who call for national unity, I believe that unity will be reached; both Muslims and Christians are Sudanese. I prefer the rule in Sudan to be a kingdom instead of the Islamic Rule. What I mean is that, one ruler to stay in power for 2 years and then be replaced by second one. Democracy, also because it is now Northern Muslims who dominate Southerners. Since Nimairi time, Sharia was applied. This was a big mistake, because you can't impose Islam on others. Such like death sentence by stoning. The Muslims admit it, but it should not be done on Southerners. The worst conducts to Southerners is spirit taking and make troubles out door. At the present, the situation is better in Wad al-bashir. Now, some people are members of the (National Congress Party), others are SPLA. In the past a problem arises if you are SPLA.

I believe that people are to study both civilizations and cultures to respect each other. Now, people adopt a single view which makes mal deeds. This makes a person with bad ethics, but when one belongs to all civilizations one will respect others.

Q4: Would you compare between Nimairi and Alinqhaz?

As for Nimairi's time, I can't agree on hand cuts (punishment on theft) because it hinders doing work. It should be replaced by a different punishment. Hands are most needed in work. As for the present I'm satisfied with the police raids, because they stopped anarchy.

Of government policies what I dislike is school lessons content Equality. A pupil in the third year is unable to write a letter. The education is weak. Christians have to learn. In the present curriculum subjects were changed and some parts were omitted. My kids go to comboni schools, but the circumstances do not encourage learning for lack of services and electricity. Encouragement should come from parents. It is true that in such an environment so many children do not learn. The impact is that my children mix with others, unless we interfere.

Wad al-bashir is a casual unpleasant area. Planning allows services. Population of the area is increasing, this creates disorder. There should be coordination between the National Congress (party) and SPLA relating to the marginal areas for the development to take place. Two years ago, the SPLA used to have thoughts about future development. Now, they are in imbalance. They should plan an advanced long term vision for execution to follow.

The above view is general for all the marginalized Sudan, not only the South and Wad al-bashir. This could take place between the two sides; the National Congress and SPLA in concord. A single hand cannot clap. We have a model in our family, Altayeb family. There is a small pension from the father and we are a large family. We agreed that the pension is to be taken by those who study in the university, i.e., the one in the most need. This is a sort of family organization. The National Congress and the SPLA might suit as a Sudanese family.

Interrelations between Muslims and Christians are good. My kids go to play with our neighbor Shams Aldin's children. They drink coffee there, and his kids normally come into our house.

The aftermaths of Dr. Garang's death were grave. It resulted from the ill conception of the incident. It was not related to religion. The black colored no matter Muslim or Christian attached the fair colored.

(4)

Name	Fardos Hamza
Gender	Female
Marital Status	Married
Age	30 years
Religion	Muslim
Current Place of Residance	Wasd al-bashir

I am Fardos Hamza, I am thirty years old, I am Muslim, I come from Um Gaizan (Darfur). I completed the basic level school there (8 classes). I left school and moved to Alrank (on the White Nile, North Upper Nile State in the South); I stayed there between 1993 and 1998. Then I came to Khartoum lived in Banat (Omdurman) for 2 years. I am married since 1990, I have a child. I chose to leave school but I now regret that.

Q1: You live in Wad al-bashir since 1999, how do you find living here?

It is convenient; those whom we live with are good people. Relations among people are good, Christians and Muslims. We are neighbors, we exchange visits especially in Eids (religious festivals). Particularly our neighbor named Altoma. When they dance (collectively) we go there, and so when they have mourning feasts until we at last took to danceing with them (participating in mourning Dance).

Q2: What role does Government play in Wad al-bashir:

(She laughs) I got nothing to do with the government and we see none on its part. (I exclaimed how is that?). If there is government presence we could have felt it. We see more of the NGOs like UNICEF, and like Mosque building by Da‘wa Islamic Organization where they are

active at their place. They have religious performances, Quranic education and recitations. I however haven't got there since last Ramadan (September 2006). At the popular committee's place the Dawa Islamic Organization address people (in public speeches). And the government doesn't support the popular committee or may be they do but this is unknown to us.

I have a kid boy who is in class four. He is 10 years old and having education in Ombada square 34 school. This is because there is no good school in Wad al-bashir except that for Christians (here somebody came in and greeted, she introduced him to me as her husband. I returned the greeting; he remarked that his greetings were sent to us the women saying that women are the same). (She wasn't certain about Comboni being an inclusive school where both Christian and Muslim Children learn together. She was not able to differentiate between a Comboni school and church school, and said that Islamic Education is not taught there). (Then she resumed) The people of Popular Deface Force visited us last week. Of them came Ismail Dudu's wife; He is leader of battalion 109 Saliheen (good doers). She wrote down my name for military training that would have to take place the week after. I asked whether she is going to join the volunteer squad. She answered by question,) shall I do?

(5)

Name	Fatma Hamdan
Gender	Female
Marital Status	Married
Age	27 years
Religion	Muslim
Current Place of Residance	Wasd al-bashir

(The interview was conducted on March 8th 2007, the International Women day. When I got to the interviewee home, I found her listening to

the Radio. The Vice President's speech on the occasion was broadcasted. Fatma was listening to his words of empowering the women in the Sudanese society. I took the opportunity and asked her about the issue. She informed me that it was the first time for her to know about an international day for women. Her opinion was that women got the right of education. Yet a woman –for her- would remain a woman helpless and infective.

I am Fatma Abdala Hamdan, I am Muslim, I come from Buram (Southern Darfur). I completed the basic level education in Southern Darfur. I came to Khartoum in 1998. I didn't continue my studies as, I got married and I am a housewife now. My husband had been a soldier who retired and he is free lancer now. I have three Children and I am pregnant at the present. My kids are Somaya, Mohamed and Sara. When I first arrived I lived for a year in Ombada (Omdurman Suburb) then I moved to Wad al-bashir. This house of ours is casual temporary we haven't yet received a planned plot.

Q1: How do you find the nature of the relationship between members of the Christian and Muslim communities in Wad al-bashir?

The relations with Christians are not bad. Problems arise but they are solved. Skirmishes occurred when John Garang was killed, riots broke out, we were afraid particularly women. Violent fights took place to the extent the government intervened. Of course as you know those riots happened all over Khartoum.

Q2: How do you practice your religion?

Thank God we observe fasting and praying and all the others (rituals). However since my coming to Wad al-bashir I haven't contributed to the activities done by Dawa (Islamic) Organization. The activities are performed at the popular committee place. There was a

school session held at the Land Planning Office for the illiterate. I joined the program and received First Aid course.

There are Khalwas (Quran informal schools) and a Mosque. Sometimes there were public talks and during Sheikh Rahma's time, I often went to attend because he used to invite speakers from outside Wad al-bashir. For that reason I used to go from here until his Khalwa in Squire 52.

Q3: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Wad al-bashir?

We are good to each others. We are neighbors, they come to greet us during our religious festivals and we do in theirs, and in events of mourning we go to them to offer condolences. This is normal and without question especially among women.

Q4: How do you find the government in Wad al-bashir?

I see it less active in performing duties. I don't see any apparent governmental presence. We are here for nine years now, we see nothing of that. Now I have to send my Kids to Schools in Alfitiahab Squire 42 (about 10 KLMs) because there is not any school in our vicinity. This girl you see before you is in her school in first year, the school is very far for her. Our neighbor here takes my Kids along with his by public transport but they all come back home on foot. The school is a public one; it is a new one with only four classes.

Q5: I sent a notice that there is a Componi (Missionary Schools) here in Wad al-bashir – why did she choose to send her Kids there?

Yes Componi is there but I wouldn't get my female Kid there in order to avoid quarrels between children.

Particularly in health services the government is lagging behind fulfilling its duty. When somebody falls ill, have to go along way to the Military Hospital in Omdurman (10 klms).

Q6: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

As a Muslim I wish they increase Mosque and Khalwa (Informal Quran teaching schools) numbers and build schools; also for Christians. (At this stage of the interview the Vice President's speech arrived at the point that "peace means to abolish illiteracy and to promote education, and we believe that women are the best care-taker of peace". She was listening carefully and then resumed :) And they actualize what they say.

(6)

Name	Paul Samuel
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	20 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residance	Wasd al-bashir

My name is Paul Samuel, Nicknamed Jumbo, I came from West Equatoria, I am Catholic. I learnt the general education stages until I sat for Sudan School Certificate; the basic level was in Upper Nile. Secondary level in Khartoum in St. Vastill Secondary School in Alsahafa

district (Lower Middle class), this school is for the displaced. I live in Wad al-bashir since 2000. I used to move from here to the School in Alsahafa (22 Klms).

Q1: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Christian, in practicing your religion?

In Wad al-bashir I practice my religion only sometimes, because I was living in another environment before I came to stay here. However here in Wad al-bashir I met no body at all who ever asked me about the faith I practice. I go with my friends, and the life we lead is that of fun and chatting. The group of friends meets as one unit. You go to the Church only individually. The Muslims can also go to the Mosque to pray. When to and at what time to go? No body cares.

As a Christian I face no problem about practicing religion, neither in the Church nor in relation with Muslims.

Q2: Has your belonging to a Christian tradition helped you to cope with life in this city?

Christianity helps me in a number of ways, because to us in Christianity it is not necessary to push somebody to join something which he does not agree to. Nor ask any body about the content of his prayers. Everyone cares about the right of the others and this is how you are free also.

Q3: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Khartoum?

When we are together we interact so nicely. There is no difference in making up between Christians and Muslims.

Q4: Could you please describe your experiences with official government policies regarding religion in Wad al-bashir?

We, who are on different grounds, we haven't got a sufficient part to say that Christians of more than Muslims or vise versa. This is an aspect which gets into politics; I have got nothing to say on such a level. Here in Wad al-bashir we accept what God whishes as it is God's will, you do what they (Government) want.

Q5: Are there any differences, according to your experience, between how official government policies regarding religion treat non-Muslims and how individual Muslims relate to non-Muslim?

I see that the government itself does not know who is in Wad al-bashir and who is not. Only when someone goes to the government informing it about where Muslims are and where Christians are. It is for the government then to decide where it stands. Normally the government doesn't have an action in such thing. Even the SPLA have no presence here. Its major presence is in Jabarona (another displaced camp). Now the SPLA moved to Upper Nile and Equatoria in The South.

Q6: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

The government has to allow freedom of religion just like in Wad al-bashir where no one interferes in religion of the other. We chat normally and we put away the secret of religion. Following suit I urge the government to do like us.

When I first arrived in this town in 2000 there was anarchy. A situation of drunkard and indifference and education was very low. The country improved and the situation of people is better. A number of students go to university and paid extensive efforts, this why the situation is better now.

(7)

Name	Kafino Satarleno
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	23 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residance	Mandella

I come from Dinka tribe; I am Catholic and came first here in 1993/1994. I didn't have the sense of belonging to Mandela. After that, I grew there attached towards the area. We have a system here. There is a big tent, adult people meet there. Those under 15 cannot go there. When a dispute arises, it is settled there. This morning, there was a dispute, but instead of going to the formal authorities, we solved it in judiya (folk mediation), there under that tent. We solve our problems by ourselves. When somebody comes here for the first time, we invite him to attend meetings to know where he comes from, and to introduce him to our community, and we offer a meal.

I dream for us as men to create ideas and struggle to develop this place. As we the inhabitants are humble people, we want to make good reputation for our vicinity. If somebody thinks that I Kafino am a bad man, I reveal myself to the other to understand me and know that I'm not a bad man. There must be limits and wisdom, and one makes clear new ideas. I am influenced by Christianity; I urge the young to go to the church. Some mothers understand that and love it. Some mothers question: I answer that when I was young, the elders urged me to go to the church. So, I encourage kids calling them to accompany me to the church to receive teachings given there. Such a way motivates them to understand that the Bible is knowledge and the words of God are reason

and without the word of God there is nothing. What is science without religion? Religion is my guide in how to treat people and to respond to my environment and gives me help.

There are youngest, blessing on them, they go to church. Here comes my part and a priest then followed me. We formed a chorus. This was one of my dreams, singing collectively is worship. I was elected ahead for a chorus and the father made an essential element out of me in programs and baptizing. We made feast and invited people from distant places, like Fitihab (Omdurman suburb), Soba and Kalakla (Khartoum suburbs). This way disputes in our place decreased and the word of God makes women solemn. This effort began in January 2006. Some people helped us and between them was a Wali (State Governor) was visited Mandela. We received him by songs as a sign of welcome. Then he gave us One Million Pounds (100,000 SD, 500 US Dollars). This is on the practice side and it is still going on. There was a strong wish how to develop this place. That should happen however so that the group here will not go astray.

Here in Mandela, I haven't faced any questions about my contrary to a sect or to a religion. This might happen elsewhere. Here, there is nothing of the sort. I used to witness such questions in higher education stages. In the secondary school in particular, I was subjected to that and got influenced by Islam. In the military college, we were only a few southerners. There, we faced many questions about why I want to convert to Islam. In such situations, one must use his mind and think in the interest of faith. Once my father, and maybe because of a grave short age of knowledge that was stemming from the besieged people they stay within in religion, but they missed the use of wisdom. One day, someone said to me that he could see that I am a Goodman Satarleno, why don't I

join Islam. When my father asked an explanation for the idea, the man informed him saying to be Mondcoro (like Arab Northerner) and explained the motions of Muslim's prayers. My father got angry and slapped the man on the face. Some young men asked me such a question, but not here in Mandela. In the 1990s, my father died and we were considered Martyr family. He was a soldier in the government army. In the Martyr Organization (governmental) I encountered questions of this sort.

I learnt Quran in the Khalwa of a woman neighbor, she was called Zeinab. She founded her Khalwa with the assistance of my mother. There were questions on their part to me to become a Muslim. They used to say that I am good (in understanding Quran).

Your practice is referred back to your ability and when one faces whatever difficulties, there should be a great patience and belief.

Honesty is most important, especially in financial matters. When I received the cash donation of the Wali, some people thought well of me, others thought badly about me, until I practically proved that my hands were clean. The point is that, when the members had suggested that the money was to be kept by the financial secretary, I disagreed for he was not trust worthy.

In managing sports activities, there was also dissatisfaction. But a number of mothers advised me to neglect such grievances. They are normal in place like ours. The mothers tried to lessen the effect saying that it is expected from those who smoke Hashish and took Alcohol. Of the difficulties we faced are lack of interest, the background and weak response.

Q1: When you face such obstacles, do you resort to the Bible and use it to convince people?

Not all of them. Only those with religious background. There must be an interest and belief. We present to brothers Master Jesus saying "love your enemy". You use tactics here, if he is stubborn you tackle the case gently. Also we had a fellow Muslim, he is in Juba now. People were not feeling easy about him, but towards him I felt at ease. He was aloof from the others and pressed kids to become Muslims. He used to beat them. He had daughters; one of them was my friend. She committed suicide. It was a grave loss, people mourned her deeply. She was an active participant in church and her father was sharply preventing her. He did not adopt religious freedom in the family. Her name was Nasra (Arab Muslim name).

In 2004, something happened here in Mandela. There were certain elements that approach a group of 27 people and tempted them to get into Islam on the ground of living situation and told them that because they were ideal, they wanted them to become Muslims, and in return jobs will be available to them. A row broke out over that issue. A number of those elements were Latokas who work for the government. They targeted the youth in the 20s and recruited them to Soba permanent camp and were subjected to orientation courses. All of them were Latoka. I am one of those who opposed that more. The Rumors spread all over the place that the young men of Mandela were Islamized.

If I called you Salma to become Christian, you would ask about the motivation. They were taught the Wadu (Muslim wash for prayer) and Salat (Muslim prayers). I talked to them face to face and exclaimed, what was the purpose for that? Was it only to get employed? All the answers I received could be summarized in material benefit motives. Two of them

were my brothers. There was everyday arguing. I loved my two brothers, but I was afraid that religion would rush us apart. I said that the idea you carry didn't spring from soul it was only a product of indoctrination. Ultimately, they received no jobs. They were initiated and given Jalabiya (Arabric cloth). Now they are used for bed covers. There are some who made benefit from such deeds, but those brothers of ours incurred only loss. One day, I accompanied them to where they were given 50,000 pounds (25 US Dollars) each. What's a 50,000 pound for pride and dignity?

I was famous for the name Jamal (Arab name). I used to perform some tasks for my neighbor and my teacher (Muslim). Yet once I faced an inquiry from my fellows, whether I was a Muslim or a Kafir (Non-believer). There was Christianity. To my knowledge since the fifth class, there were 3 religions: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. If I adopted the way of my father, I could have hit him.

A very negligible effort is paid by the government on the health side. I noticed in Bashayer hospital, when my uncle’s wife was hospitalized and I was the co patient. There was discrimination in treatment between a southerner and a non southerner, but not all doctors do that.

By the military college, there was an area called Kharabat (ruins) near the soldier’s residential area. It is an hour drive from Khartoum. The Kharabat was inhabited by the displaced in 1995. They decided to build a church. Building reached a good point. It was destroyed. People living in those marginal areas receive the status of animals, not human beings when treated by the government. The Church was destroyed before the Eid prayers. That was according to instructions from the commander.

There was also the episode of the catholic club turned into National Congress residence.

There was a church in Thawra area, which was confiscated and also another one in Bahry. The attitude is that the Christian major centers and activities ought to be kept to minimum.

Politics makes difference between brothers -of late- in the Sudan. Even chickens speak about politics. A very old grandmother does the same. Religion and politics must be demarked because politics lead you to kill and hurt. For instance, we are regarded family of a martyr. I disagree with that. My father was injured in war. He was wounded in October 10th 1990. He was transferred from Juba to Khartoum on October 13th 1990. On the way from Juba he was not medically well observed. This was the cause of his death. He died in Khartoum and was buried here in Sahafa. Remorsefully, there is even distinction between the dead in the same grave yard. The diseased are sorted into Muslims and Christians. If I am dead, is there any reason to ask whether I am Muslim or Christian? I ask you now just like you have been asking me. The government has a policy towards the martyr's families. They train the sons to replace the father. When we were very little, things were unknown to us. We used to go to the martyr's organization. There they mix politics with religion. They shouldn't have called the donation martyr benefits. They should call it war endowment.

The government inserts religion into politics. In the country, "Allahu Akbar" call is said in every action. In the graduation I was awarded top for marching and height climbing. The ceremony was attended by President Omer Albashir. When I stepped forward to salute and receive the prize, it was a must I shout Allah Akbar as the commander in chief (President) did. It is certainly true that God is the greatest (meaning of Allahu Akbar), but it is the slogan of a religion different from mine.

In fact, the martyr organization is not mere military foundation; it is a religious institution too. They exploit the economic situation of a killed soldier heirs and bestow foodstuff at the end of the month and ask that the elder son of the dead to be a Muslim. Such rations are given only in Ramadan (Muslim fasting month). That is in addition to a sheep gift on the occasion of the sacrifice Eid (Muslim yearly festival), nothing of the sort is given on Christmas. This makes me state that, it is not military endowment. It is done to tempt our Christian kinsfolks.

There is a problem of marriage. When you are in a high status, the Islamists are ready to give a Muslim girl for a Christian, in marriage, like leader Joseph Lago. This happened after peace agreement was first signed in 1972.

Another example was that when aircraft of the Vice President/ Zubair crashed and those on board were killed, among whom was Ton Arok Ton (Christian Southern Commander). Sheikh Turaby said that the commander had uttered the word of Islam before his unfortunate death. Could that be true? Who was there with the lost Ton aboard the miserable aircraft? The southerners are hearty people and transparent. Southerner is a tender person. Religion should be set aside, like on Fridays of today shops close when prayers is called for. People remain at a loss. In fasting time, there is no water. In the mosques, children are indirectly attracted. Food is offered and the youngs are taught Quran. I was a witness to that in 96/97. Those questions of yours if directed to an uneducated person, he will feel suspicious about and would not answer you. A question is raised where does she come from? She might bring me harm. I am keen to rear my children and life becomes crowded with evil. People’s minds are manipulated and children are indoctrinated. However, respect of other

religion is a must, and I have had many fasting meals with Muslims in Ramadan.

(8)

Name	Maki Abdallah
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	24 years
Religion	Muslim
Current Place of Residance	Wadelbashir

I am Maki Abdalla Mogadam, I am 24 years old. I am Muslim, Mima tribe (West Dafur non Arabs) from Gineina Area.

I am a retail merchant in Square 52. I came to Wadelbashir in 2000. Before that I was in Alfitaihab square 17 and afterward came to settle down here.

Q1: How do you find the nature of the relationship between members of the Christian and Muslim communities in Wad al-bashir?

Natural ok life is, free of clashes. I have relatives of my age. Most of them are Christians. We meet and chat together. The faith matter is not questioned. Religion belongs to Allah. That is in books, and every one has his own book. We interfere in no one's religion, and he who is satisfied with his, will stick to his belief.

Q2: How do you find the government in Wad al-bashir?

I speak not in politics. I don't see any services, and the government plays no role. It began the housing plan and there was nothing more for the citizens. We suffer the lack of town planning. There are no health services and if somebody falls sick, one would have to go to health centers away from here, or to private clinics in other districts.

Q3: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

We want the good for people and we welcome peace. Thanks to God mosques are available, although I don't know who built them. In square 51 and 52 there are new ones. Yet our need is health, clean water and electric power. We demand the citizen welfare.

I am here for 7 years since the time my house was destroyed (replanning campaign). I moved to square 52 here and rented a house since that time. No plots and land were distributed to us and we don't know what is there.

It would be enough if one receives a piece of land to settle in a house. Nothing more.

Q4: Why should you submit for what you are not satisfied of? You should know your right.

It is said that there will be land provision; this is related to the housing plan. But no one knows where and when. This is suspended for 2 years now I can't understand that.

Q5: John Garang's death incident:

I faced no harm in person, but some people did, specially retail distributors and some tribal people. In that issue all people demonstrated, regardless religion. All the people are one tribe in the face of government. Government comes and goes and may God bring good for man kinds.

(9)

Name	Mohamed Bashir
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	35 years
Religion	Muslim
Current Place of Residance	Wadelbashir

I am Mohamed Bashir Mohamed Ahmed, from Habaniya tribe (Darfur Arab tribe), Southern Darfur. I came to Khartoum since 1997, I live in Wad Albashir square 52. We mix with Southerners. I was originally living in Alfashir then in Nyala and afterwards in Khartoum. First I lived in Estate Bank Housing compound (low cost planned popular housing complex). Then I moved to Abu Sid square 17 (an Omdurman suburb on the White Nile bank). Earlier I used to visit Darfur every year but of late and for the last 3 years I didn't and that is because of the present situation in Darfur. Just before I came to Wad Albashir I also lived in Umbada Hamad Alnil (Omdurman suburb). I am Muslim and work in Wad Albashir's Market; I have this communication center (telephone calls shop).

Q1: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Muslim, in practicing your religion?

The situation of religion in Wad albashir is known. There is a Mosque in which we do our daily 5 prayers. There used to be a circle group for reciting Quran. At the present and because there is no enough number of people the recitation group is now once a day. They are not always present because of work conditions in this town. If one chases for earning living he would not be regular in Mosque activities.

There are small prayer gathering places in every block other than the grand Mosque. There are preaching programs, discussions and public addressing done by Islamic Dawa Organization. They organize cultural activities and contests. People participate specially the youth. Women participate less. There are also special programs here in the Dar (home or club) of the Popular Committee (Ingaz government basic-level-resident organization). Here in the Market place there is a grand Mosque, it is now undergoing rebuilding by permanent materials and the Dawa Organization is doing that.

Q2: Has your belonging to an Islamic tradition helped you to coupe with life in this city?

We have Sheikh Rahma's Khalwa (Quran teaching informal sub school). Pupils continue their learning after their return home from School. There is also Quranic recitation group, and the Islamic Dawa Organization has a role in teaching basics of Islam.

Q3: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Wad al-bashir?

Interaction is ordinary and simply occurs; there are strong sports and cultural associations. We are together until 11 clock in the night and

after. Then every body goes into his place. There are no clashes between us.

Q4: How do you asses the government treatment in Wad Albashir?

There is a Comprehensive Security Station Spreading point formed since less than one month now. The old one was transferred somewhere else, but the police car-borne patrols continue on rounds until 6 o'clock in the morning. A number of patrol cars gather at the security point and then more around the area. Police raids are now more intense because there are much criminal acts at the present. Stealing and robbing everyday. We see that often now. Drunkards attack others, and Mobile phones stealing and money taking is rampant. It is wide spread among young and adults. That is expected of a drunken one who is unconscious. That takes place here in the bus stop. It is even worse after sunset when transportation stops. It is now better after the presence of the police.

Within Wad al-bashir Camp here there is a camp called John Madeet who is a Sultan (Chief) from Yay (Western Equatorial). All the people of that camp are Southerners. There is a presence of all different Tribes in Wad al-bashir, I am not certain about statistics but they are all there.

The role of the popular Committee is to preserve every one's right in having permanent living place. Your name is registered; you are given a label (Card). So that you would settled and be handed over a land plot for a house. The popular committee forwards reports about the number of the population. Then the authorities demolish irregular buildings for replanning.

The major role in Wad al-bashir is played by the NGOs. The government is responsible the police security and planning only. Education and Health service are born by NGOs like Islamic Dawa

Organization and FAR organization (Nutrition donor for the newly born) this is in addition to the UN. Here we have basic level Schools for boys only and a secondary school and Componi (Catholic College) schools for both boys and girls.

In this area the majority of population is Christians. Muslims are less than them, but every one is of his own. No one differentiates between Islam and Christianity they mix them both, because they live naturally in unconsciousness because of drinking of alcohol. Attention is not paid to religion; Muslims are only 2% of the population. Some might tell that he is Christian but you can't know because religion is not adhered to in practice. I notice a number of Churches, about 5 of them. Southerners go there every Sunday and come back happy. One reason is that there are no jobs, this lead people to crime.

Work in Wad al-bashir is in the Market place (buying and selling) and in house building. This reason leads people to go to work in Khartoum. This way I can see no part played by the government. The only organization doing something is the Red Crescent and Islamic Dawa Organization.

Q5: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

1- The government should intensify security presence to resolve clashes. When the government presence is less felt, crime increases. In central Khartoum there is a security patrol in every bus stop compared to their only casual rounds here.
2- I can not expect any contribution in the part of the government in the field of health and education.
3- The government should offer recreation programs and cultural activities.

Relations are intimate, no one interferes in other's affairs, we exchange visits, we go to them they come to us. There is Sheikh Osman who preaches to attract people to Islam in our vicinity; there were three who came in (into Islam).

(10)

Name	Paul Jandlo
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	30 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residence	Mandela

Upon introducing myself and my purpose, Paul initiated: *"once the matter is connected to the freedom of religions I then welcome participation."*

My name is Paul Jandlo Salmon (Male); I am from East Equatoria (Southern Sudan) Oranio town. Education: elementary stage San Treiza School Torit and Componi College Khartoum. Elementary completed 1989. Secondary School Componi College Khartoum where I sat for Sudan School certificate examination (Completion of general education) then faculty of law, University of Juba (temporary premises in Khartoum). Religion: I am Catholic living in Mayo (Mandela).

Q1: How would you describe your experience as a Christian living in Khartoum?

My experience in the whole North was apparent. The most of my practical experience was at school stages, I studied the first three years of the basic school in Kosti town (White Nile State in the North). There

were tendencies of politicizing issues. For example Muslim pupils were taught Islamic education within the curriculum. At that stage we were being told that being Christian was not good in a school where the medium is average student Muslim. But during the secondary school time there was difference. I found that stage in Comboni College where Muslim students were taught all subjects (including Islamic education within the curriculum) they were not told to learn their faith on their holiday away from Christian School this was in Diocesan Schools. In the secondary school stage the case was the same. In the university stage I used to have a background about Islam. I saw no difference between Muslim students and Christian students. I had that to depend on understanding and interpretation of Quran and the Bible. Although there were eccentric elements on the both sides of Christianity and Islam, this eccentrism was rooted back to upbringing. Both Quran and the Bible have always called for tolerance, brotherhood, loving and peaceful coexistence yet disparity emerges according to interpretation, I mean that in Islam we can find both Osama Bin Laden and Sadig Almahdi. There is a great difference. Almahdi always said that Islam is the faith of tolerance contrary to Osama Bin Laden.

My experience in Khartoum was that I lived with brothers (friends). I always had a colleague brother (friend) from the Umma Party (Moderate Muslim). Common living between Muslims and Christians is referred back to comprehension and mentality of individuals in society and within the family. However there is fanatism, there are verses which tell that a Muslim is an adversary but what I understand from the Bible is that all men are equal.

Q2: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Christian, in practicing your religion?

I face no difficulties in practicing my faith, yet as I already mentioned the obstacles I encountered were in early schooling where I suffered from leaving the classroom when lessons were of Islamic education. But in public life I haven't faced a lot of problems because of being a Christian. It is only that some times and in public lectures I noticed some Muslims did not learn the Bible and they were not acquainted enough so they claim that the Bible tells such and such incorrectly. On one occasion in a public speech at Albashir Alrayah Library one participant addressed the audience saying that Christians have no rites of burying bodies. They just take the deceased like an animal. I can prove the reverse. That when you criticize other religions practices you should know first what that religion calls for.

Q3: Has your belonging to a Christian tradition helped you to coupe with life in this city?

The issue is not actually about traditions rather than religious occasions. The Bible acknowledges that all religious teachings descend from God. Old Testament – Moses, Christianity – Jesus Christ, Quran – Mohamed. Here I believe in the three texts. As far as the traditions are concerned I suffered in no way, because my tradition encourages loving others despite that I am a Catholic and the Catholic sect is the largest sect in the world.

Q4: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Khartoum?

My conscious interaction with Muslims began after I am already grown. I lived with them in different places. In the fourth class in my early education I learnt in schools of the displaced and I worked with Mawlana Taha Aljaaly from the Jaaly fellow tribe (Arab Muslims). I stayed with him until I sat for the General Education of School

Certificate. I used to stay with him at home for certain reasons. I was student who liked no disturbance. When I originally left home I stayed with Uncle Taha to acquire experience. That was from 1997-2002. From his I go to our own house and return back. I suffered no distinction of being Christian from Muslims. He treated me like a son among his kids. During my high education I found nothing adverse from most friends.

This Uncle Taha always encouraged me to study law and advised me to take out of my head any discrimination between Muslims and Christians. He had three wives and I used to go to every of his three homes and do whatever I do in an ordinary way. I even went shopping with his kids and his sisters. I saw in my interaction in a Muslim community that, person is a person, those were the principles planted in me since I am young. I dislike discrimination noting an Arab from an Ethiopian. This was my experience with my Uncle. When he died I continued ties with his son. In most vacations I used to spend a month with him at home. Afterwards I came to know some member of the Umah Party who was named Tarig Balah (Muslim). I met him in a seminar in the Middle East Studies Center, I visit him in his home town Alhilalya (120 KLM from Khartoum on the Blue Nile). Generally my idea with Muslims as fellow brothers is to take them as humans, disregarding race or religion. Secondly other principles that influenced me are principles of law which are peaceful principles and the majority of my friends during the university education were Arabs. There were no differences.

Q5: Can we say that you have a good experience with Muslims?

I got no complex in one's faith; I take a person for a person without regards to one's religion, color, or political affiliation. These are personal concerns I don't interfere in.

Q6: Government policies toward Christians and non-Muslims

It is not enough to reflect the present situation since 1989. Since the former rules of Nimairy, Sadig Almahdi and the Condominium (British/Egyptian colonial), there was a certain attitudes towards Christians. These attitudes haven't begun now. Yet there are certain policies of the Islamic government to some of the Christians and the Animist brothers. Sudan is multi cultural and multiracial country. Of these policies, when it was announced that Sudan is a Muslim country although within this country there are groups of Christians and groups of Animist. I take this to mean tyrannical look which doesn't accommodate certain races and certain religions. This led to a conflict between Muslims and Christians. Like it is that in the South any one who wears a Jalabiya (garment = Arab Muslims dress) is a Jalabi (Arab merchant) and hence an enemy. These feelings were rooted in us as Christians. There are number of violations of the land tenure ordinance 1971. The act was stating that all lands belong to the government and in case you lose land, accordingly the government is entitled to compensate. In the event of the Catholic Club (previously located in a plot in Central Khartoum) and according to the governing (contract) between the Club – the Catholic Church and the government, the land plot should be returned back to the government after 100 years of use of the Club. There was no breach here, despite that the government appropriated it back on the pretext that the Hikr (land lease) of this plot was realized. The government confiscated the club and converted it into a main office for the National Congress (ruling party). This is an example of co-existence between Muslims and Christians. Moreover the government practices concerning land allocation, if a Church was to be built or a Mosque to be constructed – whom did you tell me is your name? (I am Salma) – ok, you sister Salwa are a Muslim, I Paul am a Christian, if we request before the Ministry of Engineering Works and Land Registration the Mosque is instantly licensed. But in

case of a Church to be licensed in Khartoum you would be granted a license for a purpose else, for you to turn it into a Church. This way there is a religious discrimination.

In the Ingaz days (present government) the policies known are the Jihad (Holly War) program launched over the whole South. As the government declares, the Jihad was against the infidel. Although an infidel according to the interpretation of the Quran is the one of no religion. But I am Christian. In addition to that Jihad is across home land borders. But here they shed Jihad against the Sudanese Southerners. Of the policies also, is that while I was Law student; in the curriculum I study the Act of Personal Affairs for Muslims in spite that I am a Christian. In the Bar exam there are so many things dictated on me in Muslims and non-Muslims Personal Affair Act 1991. I, as a Christian, have a holy book like Quran. I assume that in a country respecting rights of non-Muslim minorities, I am supposed to sit for the non-Muslim Personal Affairs Act exam. It said that in the Muslim Arab State of Sudan there should be consideration for me as a Christian to be taught teachings of Luka Bible and Mata instead I am subjected to study Muslim Personal Affair Act 1991 – clauses of inheritance, marriage, divorce and otherwise. This is in connection to the academic level. But on the recruitment level the companies give priority to employ Muslims. My Father tried to work for Alhigra (Prophet Mohamed Migration) Roads and Construction Company (reputed to belong to Osama Ben Laden group of companies) but the condition to get the job was to be a Muslim. No Christian can win a job in such institutions. Even if one is recruited for the job there is always the temptation to become Muslim first, and then be given the wage second. In the Labor Office employment interviews there are paralyzing questions. In 2002 I sat for the exam qualifying to join Sudan News Agency (SUNA). The requirements were

ordinary ones yet there were hidden conditions which were not enrolled between the requirements. But you are asked questions which will certainly set you off, like when you are asked to recite a certain verse of the Quarn. This is despite that it is of no relation to the work you applied for. Eligibility should be according to capabilities, qualification, Nationality and Certificate of Birth. These are the logical requirements of the job. As far as politics is concerned the government in the field of public life generates enmity in ourselves towards the others who are not responsible of that enmity, any way only an enlightened person can differentiate.

On another occasion during the National cadet service in Fatasha (50 Kms North West Omdurman) there were intervals for the four Muslim daily prayer of sunset, evening…etc. We the Christian cadets forwarded a request to be given the chance for Sunday service to be led by one of us inside the camp, once Fatasha was far away from Khartoum. The request was denied. On a Sunday morning a number of us tried to protest. Our Muslim colleagues headed for their drills, we abstained. The responsible officer was informed about our case. He insulted us and ordered 5 soldiers who together with the same lieutenant beat us. We no longer requested any chance to do Sunday service until the end of the confinement session.

During the same time of the National cadet service I was classified in (A) rank (practical recruit) I was allocated to Adaryel Oil fields protection force. I was not able to go because of the university session. I reported back and was transferred to the engineering corps. According to the army regulations I have the right as a Christian for Sunday prayers time-off from 9-12 am. I was denied the chance, insulted and my hair shaved as punishment.

Q7: Are there any differences, according to your experience, between how official government policies regarding religion treat non-Muslims and how individual Muslims related to non-Muslim?

Individuals have not widely participated in government. Yet there was a few elements of certain groups did. Once in social work seminar we encountered a short skirmish with Muslim fellows when we talked about Human Rights. We targeted a school in Umbada (Omdurman Suburb) the parent's board members were attending. Some who were critical of the session were said to us by a number of them saying that "Human Rights groups are organizations of the Infidel, they are of Western thinking and our Quran embodied all rights. We do not need you at all". To me this happened because they noticed that the entire group was of Southerners presenting paper about Human Rights. However one of the board members offered us an apology and explained that was only an individual behavior. I can refer that to an individual's standpoint and his attitude towards the different faiths.

Q8: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

We should first uncover causes of conflict before solutions. The Naivasha agreement guarantees are publicly known:

1. Freedom of others should be respected, being Christian I have traditions and norms.
2. Both Muslims and Christians should exchange understanding of each other's religion teachings.
3. Traditions of other required to be observed. For example in my traditions I am supposed to practice collective dance putting on no clothes. Here in Khartoum my people suffered that this is by no means possible.
4. The part related to the dialogue; I should not criticize you before I know what your Book calls for and the question of an interpreting texts.
5. In the CPA a number of dialogue principles were included. The marginalization issue was mentioned. For instance Dr.Hassan Mekki (Muslims thinker) spoke about slump peripheries like Wad albashir and Mayo that whenever you go away from Khartoum Center the situation goes worse. Law reveals formal but not actual equality. Like it that right in owning land is general, but it is not so in effect.
6. Distribution of wealth. There should be equal privilege between Christians and Muslims and the marginalized regions in development of peripheries which is absent in the South.
7. I see the problem to be of economic nature and the violation of Human Rights.
8. Avoidance of discrimination in Job opportunity regardless of religion, race or culture. Employment should depend on qualifications.

9. The displaced in Khartoum state suffer cultural discrimination. Culture is identified now with Northern culture. The case in refugee's camps is better than the displaced. Outside the capital town there is detection. We suffered from moving from one place to the other, this caused us to feel that Northerners are bad people.

Q9: What do you think would be the nature of the relationship between members of the Christian and Muslim communities in Khartoum?

Generally the relationship between Christians and Muslims is ok, but getting into the government institutions for example the Islamic cultural Council and the Islamic high council and the Ministry of Awgaf (Endowments) there appears the privilege. As it is an institution concerned about building Mosques. The whole ministry concern about Mosque building and spreading Islam. And the war broke between the SPLA (Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army) and the government was said to be a war between Muslims and Christians. The Islamists sought to Islamize the South. And the National Congress Party describes the SPLM to be a Christian Movement intending to make a Christian State out of the Sudan. For this purpose the Ministry of Awgaf (endowments) was to spread Islam in the South. If there should be a Ministry specialized for building Mosques there should be a similar Ministry to build Churches to overcome a number of things (problems). Generally the relationship on the individual level is ordinary but tension is created by the government. There is an escalation on the part of certain as a Kafir (infidel). The relationship was better ten, twenty and fifty years ago, problems appear when there is escalation. The Salafi (fundamentalist) see the Christian as a bad person and the socialization has the major role in representing me as an enemy and not thing else. In

living places and away from politics communities are ok. Our experience in Square 3 is that neighbors stay like brothers. We rented a house from a Muslim family. It was a part of their home. One year later their father died. In everyday life with them there is no Christian no Muslim. We share food, occasions like weddings. In short I would say that government and escalation tie politics to religion and it's named political Islam. In Khartoum State the Islamic Cultural Council as we found, make difference. The Muslim political conformist differs from a non-conformist Muslim. The political activist is fanatic. The ordinary Muslim is not. I can see difference between political Islam and the normal faith; in sports like football we find no difference.

(11)

Name	Solomon Oliha
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Married
Age	35 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residence	Mandela

I am Solomon Oliha Sifryano, tribal origin Lobide in East Equatoria. I am 35 years old. Joined elementary school 1984 in Torit (East Equatoria). War broke out. I moved to the North. I reached Port-Sudan 1993. I had my learning in government schools until I sat for Sudan School Certificate (General Education Completion). Then I applied to Juba University. Now I live in Mandela since May 2005.

Q1: How do you find the relationship between members of the Christian and Muslim communities in Mandela?

No interferes in religion. At the same home you can find Muslim brothers who go to the mosque. I myself go otherwise for my prayers. I practice my belief and I go to church every Sunday. And in Mandela camp, to me, Christians are more than Muslims.

Q2: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Christian, in practicing your religion?

In Mandela I faced no difficulties, but in Port-Sudan I did. I was once studying in an Institute in the town. One day I was trying to leave the class when the Islamic education instructor was getting in. He stopped me at the door of the classroom and insisted that I attend. I refused and we argued. I reported to the director and it was solved there. That moved me a lot.

(I noticed that there are some writings on the room walls, I asked about that and received the following answers). On the one wall it was written "the Word became man and lived among us" Solomon informed that it was quoted from the Bible, the "Word" is a symbol of Messiah. Jesus Christ had manly character and a Godly character.

On the second wall "keep awake because you do not know when he will come" Solomon explained to me that these were the words of Jesus Christ who asked disciples to pray with him.

On the third wall written "You are a son of mine, I today gave you birth" God so says because he sent the soul. The father, the son and the Holy Spirit/Ghost compose the grand trinity. The Muslims do not said like that because the Quranic verse state "he (God) gave birth to no one and born by none and had an equal of nor" in Christianity it is all the same, no difference.

That event of Port-Sudan far affected me but in Khartoum I lived with Muslims and witnessed no frictions.

I go to the civil court. I know friends there. Imad and Ahmed. I attend hearings of cases from Mandela and Jebal Awlia (displaced camp). Not a single law suit was connected to religion. Once I attended a case of a woman in Mayo (displaced slump) who makes Araqi (local liquor). She was captured and fined although she had denied possession of the liquor. By means of picture the police proved before the court it was hers. She was convicted. The judgment was a fine of 50,000 Sudanese Diners (about US Dollars 250) or 3 months imprisonment. To me such deeds are prohibited in Sharia (Islamic Law). Yet living conditions of this place compelled people to commit such acts. There are no income sources and no jobs. They resort to that to earn living.

I had an experience with Muslims during the national service (Military) campaign in Jabait barracks (Eastern Sudan). I was the senior of the cadets. Being a southerner, when I address them with instructions they laugh at my accent. You know Arabic is not easily spoken (for a southerner). One day a film was shown. A story of a battle in early Islamic history. A black slave was to through a spear at a Muslim knight, and then one of my colleagues shouted (in tease): oh no Solomon, don't, please don't. The cause of that was I am also black. We all laughed at that. It was happy time. However those of the Southerners who had no education saw the problem as one of racialism. They classify this is Muslim and this is Christian. The uneducated thinks of such feelings. It is there on both sides. At such levels it is often said my faith is better than yours or so. This is not a message of God. When Islam was sent to Man, there were mottos standing: Islam is good for all times and any where. Islam is the last religious message to man.

Q3: What was your Chance of practice and prayers?

On our first day in the camp the instruction was that all Muslims go to the Mosque. I said I am Christian. Some times they intended to crowd us to the Mosque. I insisted that I am Christian and was exempted and left alone. The weather was cold. Dawn prayer was very difficult even for Muslims. To evade it some Muslims found an excuse by saying they were Christians. To avoid morning prayers they took the advantage (exemption) of religion and come with us. Others hide in the bathrooms.

Sundays were a difficultly. We were not allowed to go to church until the session was over. We could go only once. We then greeted fellows and returned to the camp. Whenever we reported requesting to go to church we were told that there was no church. I don't know why the leader was saying so.

Q4: was a chapel necessary, couldn't you pray by yourself?

There was no chance at all except Friday's interval. Kinsfolk come to visit their relatives who are recruits. They come from as far as Port Sudan (100 kms). We too received visits from relatives. One only can take rest and does laundry. There was no chance for prayers.

Q5: Could you please describe your experiences with official government policies in Khartoum?

I see hardship. Particularly our southerners when moved to the North. No job opportunities especially for students (graduates). There are implications. You apply for job; you encounter the barrier of names. If it is Mohamed or Ahmed he gets it but Solomon and the like got no way. That is the major problem. It did happen. I saw it. Only name denoted a Muslim and had the job.

Another problem is education. Christians are not taught Christianity and they are not brought a teacher. For Christian education they only go on Fridays to church. Christian education lesson should be

provided just like an Islamic education lesson. Here in Mandela it is the same story. Children go to church only on Fridays for Christian education. Comboni schools are better. They have days off on both Fridays and Sundays.

In health care sometimes there are campaigns. The Sudanese Relief Organization has a hospital too. But there is no public (government) hospital. More presence is felt from Islamic Daw'a Organization. There are much difficulties in finding work especially women. The authorities hinder them from earning a living. They come in raids. They can awake you even if you are asleep with family and order you to breathe or cough testing if you have taken liquor. You were instantly arrested if you have eaten onion. They turn its smell into alcohol. In those raids they broke doors and burst in when they find dates in the garbage.

They ask proof of marriage if couples sleep together. When a proof is not there you are also arrested. They call it adultery. It is somewhat better now after the agreement (CPA).

Q5: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

Government should avail job opportunities, all problems will be consequently solved.

(12)

Name	Stephen Wani
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	37 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residence	Mandela

I am Stephen Wani Akolino, Baria tribe, Central Bahr Aljabal (Central Equatoria). All general Education levels in Juba, Sobeari Secondary School. Upper Nile University, Khartoum center, Faculty of Health, graduated in November 2006. Present job: Coordinator of HIV/AIDS program in FOCUS (Southern Christians Students of Universities and High Institutions Company), living in Mandela displaced town. I am Christian.

I grew up in a Christian family; I used to go to Church since I am young. 12 – 13 years old. This course of life was discontinued for a while. Then a radical change occurred in my life in 1996. Some missionary brothers came to me with verses of the Bible “So God loved the world as to sacrifice his only sole sun so not to be deprived of eternal life”. Then I discovered that God loves me, and continually since 1996 in the South I exercise worship and read the holly book.

My first visit to Khartoum was in 1991, but came to live permanently here in 2003.

Q1: How would you describe your experience as a Christian living in Khartoum?

Although it was a new environment to me, I found no difficulty to practice my religious life. The political and social perception situation in Khartoum was not as I had expected them to be. This is in comparison to the environment I lived and grew up in. Any way, in Khartoum all my activities such like seminars, conferences and exhibitions to which I go regular. We participate with Muslims and with them we have discussions in most cases. Yet most important and to make life easy we would have to respect others and apply the text of love to each other and so.

Q2: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Christian, in practicing your religion?

It is said that 20 years ago there were not enough Churches in Khartoum, now their number increased and this made it easier for Christians to exercise their religion.

In the South I liked to perform activities of open call by public speaking with loud speakers on the streets, I didn't adopt that means here in Khartoum as a result of fears. Once a number of my brothers tried that, but they faced assaults where the majority is of Muslims. There (where Muslim majority) difficulty is usually met and I couldn't practice that because of this constraint, although I had intended it. Individually I did participate and check how people understand Christianity. There are so many people who have wrong comprehension to it, and it is our task to explain its factual image. One idea for example is that Christianity is for the dark blacks. Equally is the idea in the South is that Islam is the fair colored people. We try to reflect that not every one in the South is a Christian. To me the truthful Christian is he who believes in God and not the one who is called so.

Q3: Can you describe the assault your colleague encountered?

Once in Khartoum North, 2 or 3 years ago some colleagues of mine tried to preach the Bible in an open space. Suddenly a number of people appeared carrying swords; they look like Ansar (Muslim Fanatics).

Most programs of the Christians in Khartoum do not take place in the open air or in Market place like what happens in the South. There we conduct programs in gathering places like Sug Alarabi (in Khartoum). Here organization (of activities) must take place in Halls or Stadiums. Security arrangements (official) are necessary. The problems are the Fundamentalists and they are there even among us, we the Christians. They are people with dogmatic mentality henceforth we have to restrain a little our activity so we can continue ahead on the line and to avoid clashes. We didn't try again since that incident in Khartoum.

Q4: As far as you know, those who attacked the public preaching are independent individuals or from the formal side of the government?

I don't think that of formal parties, they were only citizens who are enthusiastic towards their belief. They haven't injured or harmed any body, they meant to frighten the preachers and stop their activity not to go ahead. They were 100% independent individuals.

Q5: Have your belonging to Christianity helped you to live in Khartoum?

Being believer of Christianity helped me a lot to live here in Khartoum, because the medium here and people are very special in values and their way of life, notwithstanding what is behind the curtains. I interact with Muslim friends where I live and in the university. If I was not a Christian, I wouldn't have been accommodated in the community. The Northerners and the Muslims have a high profile of one who does not drink sprits, smoke, goes out with girls and steals. Christianity forbids

that all, this helps me to live with the majority and acclimatize in an ordinary life.

Q6: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Khartoum?

In the living place and in the university there are people who belong to all strata. Some of them are university lecturers; others are army officers, students and graduates, some of whom lived in the South. In dealing with them fears were removed after. There had been a certain idea at the beginning. We used to lead arguments until we arrived to a calm shore. Each one owns an idea which runs to the same reservoir. This causes no harm. Life became easier to the extent that in his (Muslim) absence we can speak on his behalf and in my name he can speak for me; we well know each other's attitudes.

Q7: Would you say you have had good experiences with members of other religions?

I had a positive experience from interacting with Muslims; this emerged from mutual benefit of exchanged learning of Quran and the Bible. The idea that the other book is prohibited was overlapped. Even when you face complication in understanding (the Text) we explain to each other.

Q8: Could you please describe your experience with official government policies regarding religion in Khartoum (or the Sudan)?

The government has special policies toward certain states. I don't know the exact statistics of the Muslim and Christian population of Greater Khartoum. Now it is named the National capital, because as a result of the War Khartoum attracted inhabitants coming from the other parts. The population increased. I would not blame the government. There are Northern Muslims who do not know well how to execute the

government policies. I suppose there should be dialogue between religions and respect to the character and to what the other carries.

When I run down the historical account of Khartoum I can notice difference and fluctuations in relations between the Church and government. Sometimes it is better, sometimes it is worse. The Church is changed from the old pattern to the modern one. The Main Church was transferred to Street One and its formal place was altered to the government concern. The Catholic club in Africa Avenue is transformed to be a location of the National Congress Party (Ruling Party). A number of important Churches in the casual resident districts were demolished for municipal replanning. In such behavior a negative profile would be given on the government. I expect such treatment will not continue. It changes when the government changes. Such conduct I take to be improper. Inversely in the South where the majority is Christians no Mosque was removed and substituted for a party head premises. In Juba we have a large Mosque that could be the second or third largest in area and buildings the whole over the country. That Mosque since 25 years belongs to the government and to Islam. All governments should cater for the respect of the other. In policies religion is to go to a direction and politics go to the other. This is what I wanted to state.

For the Catholic club incident there was a background, and I am not well acquainted to the real reasons behind. It looks there was a lease registration contract between the church and the government. It was to be renewed after 50 years. When it was exhausted the Church did not rush to renew the contract. Therefore the government took the advantage of such a condition and took over the location. This is an official act. It is not individual. In another event the Diocesan Church was turned into a museum of the republican Palace. I have not got precise information, yet

it was used for worship and prayers by Christians (in old days of British rule).

It is not easy to differentiate between true Islam and political Islam; one can not arrive to the final result. Yet the influence results from such practice. I as a Christian believing man take them to be violence. Psychologically there rise questions: why these facilities are taken? Should we retaliate? This creates kind of disorder within the society itself. When you hear that in the replanning process a Church was removed this engenders people to feel discrimination and grief.

Q9: Are there any differences, according to your experience, between how official government policies regarding religion treat non-Muslims and how individual Muslims related to non-Muslim?

I can say that the interaction between the believing knowledgeable Muslim and Christian individuals is very good. But the Muslim government has two sides towards non-Muslims, a direct one and indirect one. The better one is the direct dealing. Yet the one which brings disorders is the indirect one.

When the violence broke following Dr.John Garang's death, the Church interfered and pacified the public and called all to come together. In Alhaj Yosif district (IDPs slum), what happened is that both government officials and Church member went collectively directly to the inhabitants and conveyed a message that such an understanding of coming together is necessary. There the government asked the assistance of the communities. The help was sought from leaders who are the honorable priests because it is a deep rooted culture in our religious society. The religious leader is more respected than a governor. On the same occasion of Dr. John Grange's death a religious leader addressed a gathering in Alfashir town (Darfur). He addressed the people declaring

that the Christian community is going to act to a too much farther a point. The gathering stood ready for revenge. But the speaker announced that we are going to offer a Karama (Sacrifice). People were astonished and cooled down. Therefore the role of the leader is always to encourage and guide followers. The correctly directed interference of this leader was successful to stop violence. If an ordinary person addressed the gathering his words and character will not be respected.

Q10: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

1. Reality influences actions, political change has a part. On the individual level I see that religious leaders have the effect to convey a certain meaning. I. suggests that religious men should speak in Mosques and Churches about the faith descending from God. And we should understand that God knows better than Human beings. We should have no chance to harm basing on a religious idea. And should accordingly interact.
2. My suggestion to politicians is that they must not mix politics with religion. Because their mingling brings clashes.
3. Religious leaders must play their part; they must find the ways leading to the other. I doubt if God can send any one to kill the other. The part played by religious men is to enlighten those who are not political conformists. In religious communities members are polarized. In both Islam and Christianity there is need to interpret verses to give meaning of human value. We quote verses of Quran and Bible that emphasize human value. The public saying is true that all knowledge is picked from Quran and the holy book. This should be presented by religious men to the non knowledge communities. Jealousy in a religious community appears with absence of knowing and understanding.

Since my coming to Khartoum I have never come across a Muslim and a Christian quarrelling over religion. Yet there are changes for exploitation on both sides. It is incorrect to judge a religion on the basis of an individual action. For example a Christian believer find a drunk Muslim, this way he send a judgment or inversely if a Muslim sees a drunk Christian he judges that Christianity originally allows that. On the other hand there are people of high understanding and conduct, they are aware of differences in society and its formation. We still expect that there is no conflict-free society. We should therefore try to attain a level of peace better than we do have.

(13)

Name	Um Izzein Ahmed
Gender	Female
Marital Status	Single
Age	17 years
Religion	Muslim
Current Place of Residence	Wad al-bashir

I am Um Izzien Ahmed, I am 17 years old, I am a Muslim, from Habanya Tribe (Darfur Arab Tribe), I am living in Wad al-bashir for one year now. I came first to Khartoum to receive Medical treatment. I have Thyroid, when I arrived I came to live in this house with the family of my cousin, wife and children. In Darfur I studied up to class four. I left school and did not get back to my education. Here in Wad al-bashir I tried to catch the current school year but I was unable to. In Wad al-bashir I could create social relations with women neighbors, we exchange visits but I made no connections with Christians. All my relations are

with Muslims only. The reason is that nothing sufficient brought us together.

Q1: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Wad Albashir? Would you say you have had good experiences with members of other religions?

They are ok. I saw nothing during the year I am here. I do not participate in events out of doors because I take care of the house. There are some activities which I attend and there are some which I don't.

Q2: Could you please describe your experiences with official government policies?

I don't know much about the government, but I find them ok. (I abstained from commenting on the government performance but she demanded handing over land plots to people and wanted a basic level school for girls.)

(14)

Name	William Sabit
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	19 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residence	Wad al-bashir

I came from Latuka tribe, I am Catholic, I sat for the Sudan school certificate exam in Port Sudan Componi School. I moved to Wad al-bashir in 2002. I was born in the South. I spent education stages in Port Sudan. The war parted me from the south. To me the war in 1987 was the worst one in Southern Sudan. My father arrived first in Port Sudan then

he called me and the family to come. In Wad al-bashir here I live with my aunt.

Q1: How do you find the nature of the relationship between members of the Christian and Muslim communities in Khartoum?

There is not any difference between Muslims and Christians. The need is to live together in Unity. People here are alike. Even the event of leader Granag's Death was not regarded a religious incident. It only took place. In the BBC and Aljazira Channel it was broadcasted that Wad al-bashir was the most free area of fanaticism. There was an intense reaction but the sultans played good part. I remember one day Omdurman commissioner came to resolve a difference between Wadlabashir and Almwalih (a settlement near Omdurman resulted from 1984 draught in Western Sudan). The disorder was only over when Sultan John Madate arrived by car and settled the case.

Q2: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Christian, in practicing your religion?

We the Christian in Wadelbashir have our known day Sunday. And you Muslims believe in Jesus Christ and call him prophet Eisa. The Messiah said (if some body struck you on the right cheek, turn to him the left one) we have forgiveness. Reaction comes from somewhere else to us. If a brother sheds blood offer him milk.

There was a remarkable event took place at the time of replanning campaign. We the Christians protested that the mosque is to be removed before the church is. Our fellows on the other side saw a nicely built mosque existent there before the planning – you as a human rights worker should mention that Christians demanded that the church must be built by the side of the mosque and in the same way the mosque was built. When the church is pulled down and the mosque is left standing what meaning

might be inferred. This is based on one sidedness. The planning is done by the government; there were a number of plots planned near the church. The last decision arrived to be to remove the school too. The last church was in fact within the school wall boundary. This now lasted since 2004.

The reaction of the believer was that every one held a stick and stood in the face of the authorities, the authorities realized that the people have got a right. Such recognition should have been realized from the beginning and confessed. If the church was destroyed, where can we pray? That church belongs to Catholic sect.

Q3: Does your belonging to Christianity help you to cooperate in Wad al-bashir?

Every body is free to adopt tradition. We worship God in the name of the Messiah, let peace be on him. Muslims also worship God. The Nubas include Muslims and also Christians.

Q4: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact?

There is no much interaction; we have neighbors from western Sudan. They have a part of their own. There is no enmity and no one strikes the other. That was so even during the violence time.

Q5: Could you please describe your experiences with official government policies regarding religion in Khartoum (or the Sudan)?

Wadelbashir is of course marginalized; we knew that the officials, since the events of violence visit places where there are Muslims only. We were visited only by Omdurman's Commissioner accompanied by Chief John Madate. They just saluted and went off.

At one time earlier from now there was a visit (delegation) from the United States. We heard that it was Colin Powel and companions. The

farthest point they reached was Umbada (Omdurman district). They came to neither Wad al-bashir, Jabarona nor Dar Alsalam. The areas I mentioned are all marginalized. When the delegate wanted to visit the poorest point in Sudan, they were guided to Umbada Alsabil (Omdurman suburb). They turned around there and returned.

The government offers nothing except the town planning scheme. They do not complete the job. Even this house is only party planned. They are the only one who knows the reason. They announced that if any body can't find a planned plot, they should go back to where he was. One question is self evident, there are unplanned sheds and casual areas, whereas there are planned parts, but with no services of electric power. There are only water pumps which are used to generate power. A device for irrigation to be turned into means of electricity generation, and for only limited period from 7 pm to 12 pm. For the poor to entertain power use, he would have to pay pounds 15000 a month (about 8 Dollars) There is also no clean water to drink, water brought (by cart) is sometimes of bad smell, brought and carts in donkey from unhealthy bores/wells in Almwalih. FAR Organization sometimes helps with drinking water. There are also Sudanese organizations but I received no services offered by them. There are schools which belong to the church. Wad Ramly (I) which embodies the chapel, Levels from one to five. Pupils go to resume the rest or after studies in Wad Ramly (II). The mentioned schools admit pupils indefinitely without distinction.

A friend and I formed a tribal association and bound ourselves not to be short in educating others. We offer training during vacations for the last three years. We volunteered for no fee in this marginalized area. We do not discriminate. A number of teachers come to our help from outside Wadelbashir. They usually have the problem of how to reach us. Our aim

is to awake the sleeping, give knowledge and make clear some pieces of information about the citizen's rights with the government. There is injustice and marginalization towards us. There is balance in number between Christians and Muslims. Statistics are with the popular committee and the sultans.

Q6: Are there any differences, according to your experience, between how official government policies regarding religion treat non-Muslims and how individual Muslims related to non-Muslim?

Certainly there are differences. In Wadelbashir here we have graduates holding degrees and living in straw sheds, they can't have jobs because they are Christians. This is so because discrimination is there in Sudan before hand.

When I presented my certificate, it is sorted into whether Christian or Muslim and intake the latter. This is what I see. The government is supposed to employ the graduates instead of being left to just sit and drink in sheds. When one gets a job economic situation of the family improves.

In the field of education there should be equality too. Christian should attain their rights. If Friday is a weekend, why not Sunday also?

In Comboni schools they are off on Fridays and Sundays. But in public schools they are unable to go to churches on Sundays.

Some Christian students here choose to sit for the Holy Quran exams instead of moving all the costly way to down town in Khartoum to learn Christian studies in Comboni College.

A student living in Wadelbashir, who can not secure transport cost, must sit for the Christian education exam very far from here. This is why he attends Islamic education classes and gets examined in near home.

Educational subjects should be kept away from religion. In the sixth class mathematics, I taught verses from Quran. This is unbecoming; you should be ware whether those taught are Muslims or Christians. Texts should be printed as the case may be. I can say that people among themselves are free of problems, but the government is the one who grows enemity by ways of rage and the coercion it plants.

In school subjects we learnt about Islam and we felt respect towards it and highly valued it. But the other direction is not valued. My opinion is that Muslims must educate and study other books and know that it is a religion just like theirs and they are not infidels as the ignorant people claim. Furthermore we loose the chance to publicize our faith. There is exploitation in the radio and monopoly in the television and media. This engendered the lack of awareness about Christianity among Muslims. We have not enough room in the press except when they want to satisfy us. In those cases they invite VIPs. Contrary to that they should start from beneath. When you clean your house you had better start from the farthest room inwards. The Cardinal himself does not intend a discord. The question should stem from underneath. When the cardinal was arrested the President released him to save Khartoum from disorder.

Q7: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

I see an imposition and religious conflict. We the Christians are deprived of expression freedoms, and haven't got enough room for solutions. I suggest democracy and every one's entertainment of own dues. There are elements in higher circles of human rights. They should lay pressure on the President himself and uncover for him the wrongs. I miss freedom of religion such like the issue of Catholic club. If there are

real human rights why don't they help in the matter and stop turning the club into an office of the National Congress Party.

There was also the case of Diocesan Church in Omdurman in 2001. There were mischief between the Ministry of Engineering Works and the church trustees. The church was an old building included a school. The school stopped for the lack of funds. Later a group of physicians requested to use the building for the purpose of clinic. The church members agreed and the contract was arrived to with the doctors on the basis of human service. According to the land contract the building should not have been altered or modified. That is with the exception of the legal title holder's consent. The building from was changed to suit the clinic. The church members objected and a law case was opened. The search showed that ownership returns to the group of physicians. It proved to be a complicated case and it is not yet resolved.

As for the Catholic Club which was located in Africa Avenue facing Khartoum airport, the tale was that a visitor incoming from Iran saw a big cross on the club wall. He commented that Sudan is an Islamic country and the cross is a symbol of Infidel. The government responded and two days later took over the Catholic club.

We are living in time lost, democracy should have taken place earlier, and change must come with peace to the betterment.

Q8: How would you describe your experience as a Christian living in Khartoum, a city that has an overwhelming Muslim population?

To speak in general I witnessed a Muslim Eid in Port Sudan. It met a Sunday but postponed to Monday. I am not well acquainted to Islamic religion but in 2003 the Eid was supposed to be on Sunday but was purposely postponed to the day after. On Muslim's festival occasion public parks are opened round the clock, but on Christian festivals they

are neither opened nor ornamented for children. Marginalization is prevalent in both the capital city and the states.

Even with the coming of peace I see no real chance to the better and no reconciliation. As a result, Salva Kiir (First Vice President) spoke on January 9, 2007 in the second anniversary of peace declaring that the agreement is not being implemented.

I noticed that Darfur crisis receives more concern. No change took place, although they nominated Tabita Butrus (Federal Minister of Health) at the top of power yet no change is felt.

Q9: How would you compare the government acts towards Wad al-bashir before and after the peace agreement?

I will talk about police raids. One is peacefully sleeping at home. He is awakened and asked to cough to test for alcohol. Some times you are innocent and some times you are drunk. Yet you are arrested in both cases. Even if one of three is drunk, all will be arrested. A slight change appeared after peace agreement. We have different kinds of local drinks, the pale colored and the liquor. Possessing the pale one brings a fine of 25,000 SD (about US Dollars 125). In case of drinking you are whipped and fined. For the liquor you pay 50,000 SD (about US Dollars 250). This is the reason behind a policeman chasing those who drink. In courts, they (Police) swear, some times in breach (of oath) that the convicts were drunk. The oath could be contrary to the truth, it happens for many. Policemen who arrest for alcohol drinks are given an incentive of 4,000 Dinars (20 US Dollars). This is why they give false testimony. Sometime ago a judge was dismissed because of such a practice. That hasn't change after peace (agreement). Sometimes it is increased. Our norms and traditions as Southerners don't punish alcohol consumption. One drinks freely without being arrested. No whipping, no imprisonment. When convicted now, a Christian receives 30 strikes and a Muslim 40 lashes. In our understanding, not every alcohol consumer means drunker. My opinion is that a Christian should be exempted from alcohol punishment as drinking liquor is a part of our culture.

(15)

Name	Yom Deng
Gender	Female
Marital Status	Single
Age	23 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residence	Mandela

I am Yom Deng Mabite (Female), a Dinka from Buhayrat (lakes) State. Graduated in Rural Development, Faculty of Society and Development, University of Juba. Elementary Education in Kosti (North) Azhari district girls basic level School, secondary education: Tirhaga Girls Secondary School (Displaced School) Kalakla district (Khartoum State). I am Christian.

Q1: How would you describe your experience as a Christian living in Khartoum?

At one time there were street riots in Khartoum. I was wandering the street wearing short sleeves blouse, policeman came across me and asked why I was dressing that. Is this your home town? You should dress like that in juba". I gave no word. Someone explained I might be Christian. The policeman said Christian or not this is not her home town. She should respect the view of the rest as they are all Muslims. So I could give no answer.

Q2: Who said that?

A soldier of the public order corps. This affected me a lot and I took it to be religious racism. When it was explained to him that her (My) religion allows that he resumed "of her own way, she shouldn't wear this way here, let her do that in Juba or any where else". I was uncertain about

whether that was religious distinction or racial discrimination on the ground that I am a Southerner putting on such costumes in the North. Or may be because of I am a Christian.

Q3: Have you witnessed any difficulties, as a Christian, in practicing your religion?

No I have not. I go to both University and Church, yet the problem is lectures on Sundays, my only choice was to go and say prayers in evenings. Sunday should have been an off day. If you absent yourself from lectures on Sundays basing on that you are Christian you will be questioned.

Q4: Has your belonging to a Christian tradition helped you to cope with life in this city?

Religion is practiced ordinarily everywhere whether in Khartoum or otherwise, you have the right to respect your faith and adhere to it. Religion constitutes no problem to me, and I was not curtailed by not being able to practice my religion where I was.

Q5: How would you describe members of other religions with whom you interact in Khartoum?

My interaction with individual Muslims in normal, I don't keep an eye on religion. If I made a friend of a girl from a religious family I wear a Garment showing respect to them and their religion, but if it is an ordinary family I go to them in my usual clothes. When their daughter comes to our parties she dresses just like we do. That is normal. In Most of my relationships with Muslims we skip the issue of religion and live like fellow Sudanese.

Recently in last September a Bernu (Muslim Sudanese non-Arab tribe) friend of mine whose family members have deep religious Muslim feelings, showed no much care about costumes on one happy occasion.

We simply went out and came back wearing trousers. Equally when we had wedding party mid last February, the friend girl dressed herself and made her hair just like us, and her Mother didn't object. When we asked Muna to come to our visit the Mother agreed. And we all jumped over faith and live like Sudanese.

Q6: Could you please describe your experiences with official government policies regarding religion in Khartoum?

Of the official conduct, I feel that the Government marginalizes the Christian issue up to 70%:

1. For example on Fridays the National Television holds off all programs for an hour time or more to broadcast Jummah (Friday) prayers. This is so on all TV local Channels. No programs showing Sunday service except in religious major occasions and it is only shown on the news bulletin.
2. In the curricula of education, I came across nothing that reflects Christianity, not a single time. Most of poetry illustrations are of Islamic Poems, Quranic verses or Sahaba (Prophet Mohamed's companions) speeches. Inversely and at no one single time I came across an illustration quoting the Bible or Christian Saints speeches in school textbooks.

Q7: How you take these policies?

I take this to be religious marginalization on the part of the government. It doesn't acknowledge Christianity and respects its holders and express it on television programs. In the other Arab channels (abroad) they usually show Sunday service and Church prayers, but in ours only Christian is reported in the news bulletin. They show the formal participation of government officials but not the complete festival. I am Catholic who feels no enough care about Christianity by the government.

Q8: Are there any differences, according to your experience, between how official government policies regarding religion treat non-Muslims and how individual Muslims related to non-Muslim?

To compare (between the formal and informal) some behave normally and others refrain. Some may gift you the Quran but abstain accepting when you gift the Bible in return. They show you reservation expressing that it is not allowed for Muslims. What I can say, not all the Sudanese society admits consideration to religion. Some people consider Christianity prohibited. We quote prophet Mohamed. Upon the part of the government disrespect is clear; I can see that the government itself pushes on. I mean that Christians are now forcefully persuaded that Islam is a respectable religion because policies are so going, the whole State is Islamic State, and education subject content is Islamic. In most Southern families some members know Quran verses by heart despite they are Christians. The pressure they face in lessons force them to respect Islam and acknowledge Islamic faith. But Christianity is not there (in school lessons), because such side slide comes from the government who did not legislate for the religious regard and allow its followers their rights as kind man and spread their programs on the TV. For me I don't feel like to attend Jumma prayers, while I watch the Kutof Program (Islamic knowledge recollection contest) because it adds to my school information. In my interaction with Muslims I see it is important to have considerable information about Islam to lead discussions with Muslim fellows. Also a difference is that the government doesn't extend such culture (Christianity) over the community.

Q9: What suggestions would you put forward so that the problems you have mentioned may be resolved or solved?

1. In school curricula the Islamic content might not change all together, but there at least should be a teacher for Christian education (in public

schools). It is improper for a small pupil to return to sit for Christian education lessons in the afternoon three days a week. This way a pupil can not assimilate what is learnt. Once school fees are paid in full, knowledge should be taught in full including Christian religion. Now Christian pupils have to pay extra fees for their religious lessons.

2. The government must play a role. Some people don't respect Christian religion. The government should decree an act that combats those who do so.
3. Concerning TV Shows we are completely deprived of cultural, religious and prayers shows. I suggest half of Sundays to be allotted for that. Like it that in the Southern region we go to work from 8 am to 12 am on Sundays. Here in the North attending Sunday lecture is compulsory for every university student. We need a day off because most of the Churches do not conduct service in Sunday evening. One has to come to the center of the town to catch the evening prayer in Street One (all saints cathedral) or Nile avenue (st. Saint Mata Church). Even at the mentioned Church service is conducted at certain times in certain languages. If one can not catch prayers in the preferred tongue then he/she would have to substitute for another, choosing between English, Arabic and local accent (vernacular). Hence I suggest that every one should have the chance for worship in time suiting him. My Church offer prayers at one pm that doesn't suit me.

Q10: What do you think would be the nature of the relationship between members of the Christian and Muslim communities in Khartoum?

The evaluation is not uniform in all cases. A time came when Christians and Muslims could never come together during the 1990s. I were in the basic school level, relations were very tough. When they

(Muslims) know that we review Christian education lessons, they get shocked and asked us not to use the blackboard. They see that is prohibited. We plead to the headmaster who explained the matter to our Muslim colleagues and threatened to punish any one who does so.

On and on, by time after we reached the secondary level we started to participate in the morning activities by reciting verses and sing songs. My evaluation there is some positive response, not much but better than before.

I wish relations progress forward and treat each others like human beings. We better leave religion off the course of interacting and let every believer with own God. We respect each other cultures and no one is to retain the right to judge your belief. Belief is a personal concern. We are better we are just human beings, Sudanese citizen, entitled to National rights rather than religious ones and aiming to develop our country and skip religion.

(16)

Name	Max Okiyama
Gender	Male
Marital Status	Single
Age	38 years
Religion	Christian
Current Place of Residence	Mandela

My name is Max Okiyama Wado, I am from Southern Sudan, I had my primary education in Southern Sudan, after that I came to Khartoum for my difficulties because of the War in Southern Sudan, and then I came here to proceed. My father was an army man, and then I came here in 1991 on 31st of December. I came directly to Khartoum. After that when I finished my father purpose, the war at that time; I decided to continue my studies and joint Comboni Collage Khartoum in the secondary school. After that I faced some difficulties about that the younger brother who follow me. Now he is in University of Khartoum and the other one is in University of Alneelain. After that when I see like that these boys they want to drive me off my way which I want to finish my education. After that the small one which of Alneelain have taken a lady, I put myself to solve this problem, I solved it. And the other brother also the same way he made the mistake and I solved his problem. Now I stopped my education since 2002. In that year I was trying to sit to the Sudan School Certificate. After that but now on my mind, I am still to do this work, I want to learn. If I am sitting empty like that but in my mind I am ready to do any thing, I am working now.

Q1: How do you describe your experience as a Christian in Khartoum?

Since I come from southern Sudan I am still a Christian, up to now, I will not change my mind until I die. If somebody came to bring something, if he said you my brother I need to change your religion, I will not change my mind on this purpose. Christian religion remain my religion, nothing in the world will change this Christianity.

Q2: Your practice?

On my mind I always to God pray, to go to the Church to learn. I am a Christian; I will not change to Muslim religion. I had no difficulties to worship God.

I live in Wad al-bashir but I am going to Khartoum to the Chapel Church every Sunday, there is no prayer in English in this Church. On that point I don't know Arabic well; I used to pray in English but in this area they are praying in Arabic.

Q3: Tell me about your Christian's Traditions?

Since I came from South Sudan I remain as I told you, we the Christians are suffering but we are sitting here through God. That we are remain Christians, so within Khartoum some Arabs here want to make us here the African Southerners in bad things as colonial system and not helping us. For example in January first we were going to pray in Street 6, the police attacked people and that imply the government is against Christians in Khartoum. There were some victims.

Q4: How do you find Muslims?

I have no relations with Muslims, any Arabic inside the camp wants to make something bad but I don't like to cooperate with those Arab. If they Christians I will interact, but Muslims no.

Q5: Tell me about your experience with government?

On that day I was not there of first January, but I had the policy of the government, it is to go there and interrupt people in their Church, but during the cooperation with the official government but about the education we are the Southerners we are suffering, because the money to pay for nongovernmental schools, but there is policies about how to pay money and you go around nongovernmental schools, you go for there. I am the Southerner, where I might get money? I am suffering. If I will not pay money I will not get education. This is the policy of the government.

In the employment since I came have never get any work in the official government. I myself worked in a company which beyond the government, manual work. They will not allow you, we as a Black Africans and Christians.

Q6: How do you access the official government policies?

Arab in this world doesn't want any Christians, they want to make Islamize us here, and that is the policy of the government. Before the peace came we were been sitting just here, the relations is not ok, after the peace I feel half of change. After that we still here, the government doesn't like that. And Arabs mind there is no Salam (Peace) they want to make something after peace.

Q7: Suggestions?

We want to sit in peace in this world without war, even Arabs we need them without problems. First of all let the government make freedoms in Khartoum, the branches – Madani and Kasala is after Khartoum, that is for country, southern Sudan now is a country, but here in Khartoum we together.

I have been here since 1991; since I came here to Khartoum I know the minds of Arabs. I already have 16 years in Khartoum, 50 years again I will sit; about the non-Arab Muslims they take this religious to eat food.

If I myself take Islam I want to eat. They change minds and teach how to eat in this country. Within Khartoum, since some years ago was used to pray in Shari Alnil (River Nile Street – Khartoum Center). I used to see some Arabs in the Church; their color was light and changed from Islam to Christianity.

(17) Persilla Joseph:

National Assembly – Human Rights Committee:

My name is Persilla Joseph, I am Christian. I have come to Khartoum very early in 1962 when I was still young and I went to the intermediate school and the secondary school and the university in Khartoum.

I am a Christian; I went to Medical school medical doctor and specialized in community health. I am also politician and activist and this where I am (National Assembly- the Chair person of Human rights committee). If you want to know what type of Christian I am, I then can tell you. (Yes please)

I am from the biggest protestant Church in Sudan. Previously I was from the angelical Church and I have participated in the province and participated very much in the Church. I have been the provincial leader of the Sudan and in the Mother Union in the Church. So I have been part of that. I have also worked very much with the council of Churches; I was the program officer of the Sudan Council of Churches from 1987 up to 1995. It is quite long time has been with the Church. I have also worked in the Church's youth. I was brought up in the Church because my parents are Christians and the family is very much in the Church so I have been part of the Church.

Q1: Would you tell me about your experience as a Christian in Khartoum?

In Khartoum there are two experiences I can talk of. There is the relationship between me as a Christian and ordinary Muslims who are not politicians. And as I told you I went to school here and I have Muslim friends and my sisters have Muslim friends. We go to their house and they come to ours, we eat together, we read together. I have never in my life experience that there is a difference between me and Muslims, until 1989 June after the Ingaz. When the Ingaz came then you started having different relationships, there are those who continue to be our friends and they allow us to be as what we are. There are those who started relating to you in a sense that you are a Christian and you need to be converted to be a Muslim. And this has been very difficult. It has been difficult in a sense that one need to haring a house, you will not give him the house. There was a general I think political motivation to that. It is not a normal behavior because we have been here, we never we never experience such a thing until 1989 up to the time the peace agreement was signed. So that one experiences, the second experience is the political Islam when I was young as I told you grown up here up to the Intifada (apprising) and up to the Ingas. Before that there were no problems in the politics. Yes there was a problem if you want to be a leader, it was difficult, you are marginalized and prevented to rule and climb the ladder, which was not opened. But now when Ingaz coming to something difficult.

It was bad and it was good. Bad in the sense that it was very difficult for us. But it was good because now it is open. There is no discrimination, we are seeing and we are hearing. Previously the discrimination in the government was hidden, it was bad because then you can not address it. But discrimination during Ingaz that the policy of assimilation came up in what they call. In the educational policies where

the entire syllabus were changed and the Islamic Quranic understanding and Quranic verses were over the place from the Mathematics to sciences to everything. And that became difficult because the Children were now being doctoronate. Islamic verses and they have to learn it, otherwise they fail the exams. This was very difficult and you have to choose between the children going to school or we have to struggle. So when they go to school and then tell them you are Christians and that Islam is a different religion from what you are.

The other part of this is the Nizam Alaam (public order), which was very discriminatory it was like imposing itself on us in terms of what do you dress, if don't cover your head at the beginnings of this Ingas it was difficult, you were lash and people were jumped to your house. You were asked who is working with you, who are going around with you. In the South your cosine is your brother, you can not marry them, in the North there is something indifferent because your cosine can be your husband, we couldn't understand that because if I was going with my cosine and tell them this is my cosine, he is son of my uncle or aunt. To me he is not a potential, he is a relative. But from Alnizam Alaam no, this is wrong I should not go around with men. This was very difficult for us, and the fact that you can not have friends in your house. There are cases where people have been taken to the police because you were found walking with somebody and they ask you the birth certificate or your married certificate, and you say no he is my cosine and want to see the geonology. There is many many cases like that, for instance my sister in law was detaining in the police because she waring "they said" a short dress. For me it was not because it was bellow the knees. And we had to go to court and it was good because I understand, so we went to the Mahkama (Court), and after that she was release, but she stayed there, if we were not there she would stay over night in the police.

Many of the IDPs in the camps who are harries because they are drink alcohols and for the ceremonies, then you have also discrimination on the work places, there are people who were dismissed from work because they were not to religious enough. There are people who discriminated in the employment because when you go for employment you have to be asked Quranic verses, if you do not recite them you are out of the interview.

The same thing even in the university, so what I am trying to say is that Islam as a religion has a lot of positive things, but Islam as a political system there is a problem, very discriminatory, it is very bad and I think discriminate even among Muslims, because I know some of my friends who were victims, because they were not in agree with those policies. It is even worse for women. I know some of my friends who are facing problems, they had to leave work because at the beginnings of the Ingaz you have to ware those black things and close. Either you ware it in the work place or get out, because they didn't want and in their stay they were not promoted. I know of Christians who were not allowed to justify in the court. There were famous cases that Christians are not justify in the court.

This is it and I am sure the political Islam in Sudan has done Islam as a service rather than religion. And I am very sure now if Sudanese are given option, they will get out of the Muslims because of the harassment practice of religion. As a Christian I have been working in the Church as I told you, and I am still part of the court in the Mother Union. And we have had a lot of Churches centers are destroyed. The famous case of the Church which now part of the Palace, if you go next to the Mosque you will find which is now a museum. It was a Church, we went to pray there. My aunt got married in that Church, now we can no longer pray there, the government took it over and took off the tower and get the cross off. It is

now like any other building. The case of the catholic club and then our centers and headquarters in Omdurman. It was almost taken over except this time everybody move there and also either you kill all of us or not, you kill us before you get the place, there is still a problem over that and a lot of Churches are taken over by the government and sold and distributed. In Jiraf part of it has been taken away, only half of it remaining, but rest of it is distributed to people, so it has been very difficult the way the government have been deal with us.

The IDPs have problems because the Churches in the IDPs camps were destroyed, after a long time they were allow to build a Church, but then you can not have a cross, you can not have a tower. And you even can see our Church which in street one there is no tower, you can not have it. Sometimes we do something the government doesn't like it, like using microphones, but we did it because it our right where they like it or not. So there are things which are prohibited and against the law, but we did because we believe we are Sudanese and we have the right to do what we want if we are not killing.

Q2: How do you find Christians Traditions and life in Khartoum?

Yes it is good, because in Christianity you are taught to be patient, to be forgiving, and you are taught to pray for those who are oppressing you and do that whenever you go to the Church, we did that for the Muslims who are in the leadership, so that the God can give them the wisdom to see that we are all people, unlike when you listen to prayers in the Mosque people ask God to destroy others. If God created all us how he allow any of us to destroy one another because we are God own creation. So I think being a Christian had been very helpful in sense that it was difficult but we are able t through it and believe that it will come and able to say: yes this is part of life and part of worship God, we suffer so that we can take it.

Q3: Would you tell me about your experience with Muslims whom you interact?

I have a lot of friends who are Muslims, the consultancy group who are not Christians, I see no difference, they respect me, I can tell everybody these are my friends. I see Muslims are good people and I have a believe that Islam as a religion since its coming from God and recognizing prophets- Mosa, Ebrahim. I think it is good religion because any religion is good; it is how people make it bad when it comes to politics and discriminating that bring problems. I don not have problems with Islam, I have problems with those Muslims who become extremist, who want others to be what they are, these are create problems for themselves even. If God wanted all of us to be the same it could have done because he had all the power for that, we should celebrate diversity that God have created and accept it. I think it is all about power struggle, I said politicians now who are making problems, and it has nothing to do with religion at all.

Q4: You may describe the official part?

I went to School here in Khartoum, an American mission School until the unity high School, then the University of Khartoum. When I graduated I was very old in 78 so I didn't have problems. Those days the Medical students go straight to the ministry, but I know some young people who have had problems and affected and was not able to work in Aldarayib (Tax department) because of Zakat and he had to go to court, and he after some time employed in a bank, the agricultural bank, but after a long struggle and he didn't give up and said it is right to work anywhere, they refused to employ him in the Taxation, they said no because Taxation includes the Zakat and a non-Muslim can not work there. So you can see what have happened; even now the ministry of

social affairs, there is now many Christians there because they deal in the Zakat. But here in the Assembly Christians are a lot after CPA.

Q5: How do you see the Change after CPA?

Well there is quite some change but still the Nizam Alaam there, the laws are still there, we are struggle just today we pass a resolution that are dismissed from the work and should be taken back so we are struggle. We are trying to do what we can, we are here until.

Q6: Suggestions?

I think the suggestions is to keep religion as it is, whether we are a Christians or Muslims religion should not be brought into politics and people dislike that because if you make religion as decision maker as a political leader and you take decisions that affects the whole citizens and bias in your religious perception, you discriminate, even if I was a Christian and I said I look at things as a Christian and want everybody to become a Christian, that will be a problem. So I think there should be a separation between religion and state, so you don't have to deal with the religious sentiments when you are doing work for everybody who can be Muslim or non-Muslim.

Q7: Have you ever worked with the IDPs in Khartoum?

As a person I have worked, but as a committee not yet. As a person I worked to the IDPs and have reach there when I was working with the Church as I told you. We established services for them and I was with them, we did the school, health centers. We struggled with the government, that why I knew about this assimilation policy of the government. And one of the things which was been done to turn them into Muslim, it was quite a struggle. Some of them became a Muslim and the rest of them refused to become a Muslim, so it was a quite a struggle in the IDPs camps, then if they become Muslims they will be allow to distribute food if no. and in the prisons those who Hafiz Quran (learn it

by heart) will be released. So when they are in the prison for alcohol selling the women will taught quran, their head will be covered, they will become Muslims then they can be released, so you can see all these happening with the IDPs.

Q8: How do you see the policy of taking off sultans authorities in those camps?

It is good and it is bad, good because most of the sultans are made by the government and the reason why the government is taking over because of a lot of complaining about this Chiefs and this people should go through the normal system, may be with this especial commission of non-Muslims they might have.

Q9: Are you Part of that commission?

I am not part of that commission because you can not be in two commissions in the same time. It is different people; I am only in the National constitution preview commission which makes laws for those.

Appendix II

Excerpts from the Interim National Constitution of the Republic of the Sudan 2005

Part One: the Stated, the Constitution and Guiding principles

Chapter 1: The State and the Constitution

Nature of State

(1) The Republic of the Sudan is an independent, sovereign State. It is a democratic, decentralized, multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious country where such diversities co-exist.

(2) The State is committed to the respect and promotion of human dignity; and is founded on justice, equality and the advancement of human rights and fundamental freedoms and assures multi-partism.

(3) The Sudan is an all embracing homeland where religions and cultures are sources of strength, harmony and inspiration.

Fundamental bases of the Constitution:

4. This constitution is predicated upon and guided by the following principles:

(b) religions, beliefs, traditions and customs are the source of moral strength and inspiration for the Sudanese people,

(c) the cultural and social diversity of the Sudanese people is the foundation of national cohesion and shall not be used for causing division.

Source of Legislation:

(1) Nationally enacted legislation having effect only in respect of the Northern state of the Sudan shall have as its source of legislation Islamic Sharia and the consensus of the people.

(2) Nationally enacted legislation applicable to Southern Sudan or states of Southern Sudan shall have as its source of legislation popular consensus, the values and the customs of the people of the Sudan,

including their traditions and religious beliefs, having regard to Sudan's diversity.

(3) Where national legislation is currently in operation or is to be enacted and its source is religion or custom, then a state, and subject to Article 26 (1) (a) herein in the case of Southern Sudan, the majority of whose residents do not practice such religion or customs may:

(a) either introduce legislation so as to allow practice or establish institutions, in that state consistent with their religion or customs, or

(b) refer the law to the Council of States to be approved by two-thirds majority of all the representatives or initiate national legislation which will provide for such necessary alternative institutions as may be appropriate.

Religious Rights:

6. The State shall respect the religious rights to:

(a) worship or assemble in connection with any religion or belief and to establish and maintain places for these purposes,

(b) establish and maintain appropriate charitable or humanitarian institution,

(c) acquire and possess movable and immovable property and make, acquire and use the necessary articles and materials related to the rites or customs of religion or belief,

(d) write, issue and disseminate religious publications,

(e) teach religion or belief in places suitable for these purposes,

(f) solicit and receive voluntary financial and other contributions from individuals, private and public institutions,

(g) train, appoint, elect or designate by successions appropriate religious leaders called for by the requirements and standards of any religion or belief,

(h) observe days of rest, celebrate holidays and ceremonies in accordance with individuals and communities in matters of religion and belief at national and international levels.

(i) communicate with individuals and communities in matters of religion and belief at national and international levels.

Language:

8. (1) All indigenous languages of Sudan are national languages and shall be respected, developed and promoted.

(2) Arabic is a widely spoken language in the Sudan.

(3) Arabic, as a major language at the national level and English shall be the official working languages of the national government and instruction for higher education.

(4) In addition to Arabic and English, the legislature of any sub-level of government may adopt any other national languge as an additional official working language at its level.

(5) There shall be no discrimination against the use of either English or Arabic at any level of government or stage of education.

Ethnic and Cultural Communities:

47. Ethnic and cultural communities shall have the right to freely enjoy and develop their particular cultures; members of such communities shall have the right to practice their beliefs, use their languages, observe their religions and raise their children within the framework of their respective cultures and customs.

Part Ten:

The National Capital:

152 Khartoum shall be the national Capital of the Sudan, and shall be a symbol of national unity that reflects the diversity of the country.

Administration of the National Capital:

153 1. The administration of the National Capital shall be representative. The parties' signatory to Comprehensive Peace Agreement shall be adequately represented therein.

2. The adequate representation shall be determined by the President in consultation with the Governor of Khartoum.

Respect for Human Rights in the National Capital:

154 Human rights and fundamental freedoms as specified in this constitution, including respect for all religious, beliefs and customs, being of particular significance in the National Capital, which symbolizes national unity, shall be guaranteed and enforced in the National capital.

Law Enforcement Agencies in the national Capital:

155 law enforcement agencies of the National Capital shall be representative of the population of the Sudan and shall be adequately trained and made sensitive to the cultural, religious and social diversity in the Sudan.

(a) Tolerance shall be on the basis of peaceful coexistence between the Sudan people of different cultures religions and traditions.

(b) Behavior based on cultural practices and traditions, which does not disturb public order, is not disdainful of other traditions and not in violation of the laws shall be deemed in the eyes of the law as an exercise of personal freedom.

(c) Personal privacy is inviolable and evidence obtained in violation of such privacy shall not b admissible in the court of law.

(d) The judicial discretion of courts to impose penalties on non-Muslims shall observe the long-established Shari'a principle that non-Muslims are not subject to prescribed penalties and therefore remitted to penalties shall apply according to law.

(e) Leniency and ranting the accused the benefit of the doubt are legal principles of universal application and required by the circumstances of the Sudan.

The Non-Muslims Rights Special Commission:

157 1. The president shall establish in the national Capital a special commission for the rights of non-Muslims which shall have the following functions.

a) To ensure that the rights of non-Muslims which are protected in accordance with the general principles provided for under Article 154 and 156 of this Constitution.

b) Ensure that non-Muslims are not adversely affected by the application of the Sharia law in the national Capital.

2. The special commission shall submit its observations and recommendations to the presidency.

Mechanism for Guarantees:

158 A system shall be established to guarantee the implementation of Article 156 above, which includes:

a) Judicial circulars to guide the courts as to how to observe the foregoing principles.

b) Establishment of specialized courts to conduct trials in accordance with the principles referred to above.

c) Establishment of specialized public attorneys to conduct investigations and pre-trial proceeding in accordance with the principles referred to above.

Annex III

Relevant to Religion Clauses and Paragraphs of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement

Exemption of the South from Shari'a:

3-2-2 Nationally enacted legislation having effect only in respect of the states outside Southern Sudan shall have as its source of legislation popular consensus, the values and the customs of the people of Sudan (including their traditions and religious beliefs, having regard to Sudan's diversity).

3-2-4 Where national legislation is currently in operation or is enacted and its source is religious or customary law, then a state or region, the majority of whose residents do not practice such religion or customs may:

1. Either introduce legislation so as to allow or provide for institutions or practices in that region consistent with their religion or customs, or
2. Refer the law to the Council of States for it to approve by a two-thirds majority or initiate national legislation, which will provide for such necessary alternative institution as is appropriate.

State and Religion:

Recognizing that Sudan is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-lingual country and confirming that religion shall not be used as a divisive factor, the parties hereby agree as follows:

6-1 Religions, customs and beliefs are a source of moral strength and inspiration for the Sudanese people.

6-2 there shall be freedom of belief, worship and conscience for followers of all religions or beliefs or customs and no one shall be discriminated against on such grounds.

6-3 Eligibility for public office, including the presidency, public service and enjoyment of all right and duties shall be based on citizenship and not on religion, beliefs, or customs.

6-4 All personal and family matters including marriage, divorce, inheritance, succession and affiliation may be governed by the personal laws (including Shari'a or other religious laws, customs, or traditions) of those concerned.

6-5 The Parties agree to respect the following Rights:

- To worship or assemble in connection with a religion or belief and to establish and maintain places for these purposes;
- TO establish and maintain appropriate charitable or humanitarian institutions;
- To make, acquire and use to an adequate extent the necessary articles and materials related to the rites or customs of religion or belief;
- To write, issue and disseminate relevant publications in these areas;
- To teach religion or belief in places suitable for these purposes;
- To solicit and receive voluntary financial and other contributions from individuals and institutions;
- To train, appoint, elect or designate by succession appropriate leaders called for by the requirements and standards of any religion or belief;
- To observe days of rest and to celebrate holidays and ceremonies in accordance with the precepts of one's religious beliefs;
- To establish and maintain communications with individuals and communities in matters of religion and belief, at the national and international levels;

- For avoidance of doubt, no one shall be subject to discrimination by the National Government, State, institutions, group of persons or persons on grounds of religion or other beliefs.

6-6 The principles enumerate above shall be reflected in the Constitution:

1-6-2-13 Freedom from discrimination:

The law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

2-4 National Capital:

2-4-1 Khartoum shall be the Capital of the Republic of the Sudan. The National Capital shall be a symbol of national unity that reflects the diversity of Sudan.

2-4-2 The Administration of the national Capital shall be representative; and during the Interim period, the two Parties shall be adequately represented in the administration of the National Capital.

2-4-3 Human rights and fundamental freedoms as specified in the Machakos Protocol, and in the Agreement herein, including respect for all religions, beliefs and customs, shall be guaranteed and enforced in the National Capital, as well as throughout the whole of Sudan, and shall be enshrined in the National Interim Constitution.

2-4-4 Law enforcement agencies of the Capital shall be representative of the population of Sudan and shall be adequately trained and made sensitive to the cultural, religious and social diversity of all Sudanese.

2-4-5 Without prejudice to the competency of any National Institution to promulgate laws, judges and law enforcement agents shall, in dispensing justice and enforcing current laws in the National Capital be guided by the following:

2-4-5-1 Tolerance shall be the basis of coexistence between the Sudanese people of different cultures, religions and traditions;

2-4-5-2 Behavior based on cultural practices and traditions, and not in flagrant disregard of the law or disturbing public order shall be deemed in the eyes of the law as an exercise of personal freedoms;

2-4-5-3 Personal privacy is inviolable and evidence obtained in violation of such privacy shall not be admissible in the court of law;

2-4-5-4 The judicial discretion of courts to impose penalties on non-Muslims shall observe the long-established legal (Sharia) principle that non-Muslims are not subject to prescribed penalties, and therefore remitted penalties shall apply;

2-4-5-5 Leniency and granting the accused the benefit of doubt are legal principles of universal application, especially in the circumstances of a poor society like the Sudan, which is just emerging from war, characterized by prevalent poverty and subject to massive displacement of people.

2-4-6 **A special commission** shall be appointed by the Presidency to ensure that the rights of non-Muslims are protected in accordance with the aforementioned guidelines and not adversely affected by the application of Sharia Law in the Capital. The said commission shall make its observations and recommendations to the presidency.

2-4-7 Additionally, a system of mechanisms of guarantees shall be established to operationalize the above points, which includes:

2-4-7-1 Judicial circular to guide the courts as to how to observe the foregoing principals;

2-4-7-2 Establishment of specialized Attorney General circuits to conduct investigations and pretrial proceedings related to offences involving these principles.

2-8 Language:

2-8-1 All the indigenous languages are national languages which shall be respected, developed and promoted.

2-8-2 Arabic language is the widely spoken national language in the Sudan.

2-8-3 Arabic, as a major language at the national level, and English shall be the official working languages of the National Government, business and languages of instruction for higher education.

2-8-4 In addition to Arabic and English, the legislature of any sub-national level of government may adopt any other national language(s) as additional official working language(s) at its level.

2-8-5 The use of either language at any level of government or education shall not be discriminated against.

3-7 The Judiciary of Southern Sudan:

3-7-1 There shall be at the Southern Sudan Level:

3-7-1-1 A Supreme Court of Southern Sudan;

3-7-1-2 Courts of Appeal; and

3-7-1-3 Any such other courts or tribunals as deemed necessary yo be established in accordance with the Southern Sudan Constitution and the law.

3-7-2 The Constitution of Southern Sudan shall provide for a Supreme Court for Southern Sudan which shall be the highest court in the South and to which appeals may lie from Southern Sudan on matters brought under or relating to Southern state, Southern Sudan or National law, as may be determined by the Constitution of Southern Sudan.

3-7-3 The Southern Sudan Supreme Court shall:

3-7-3-1 Be the court final judicial instance in respect of any litigation or prosecution under southern State or Southern Sudan law, including statutory and customary law, save that any decisions arising under

National laws shall be subject to review and decision by the National Supreme Court.

3-7-3-2 Have original jurisdiction to decide on disputes that arise under the Constitution of Southern Sudan and the constitutions of Southern Sudan states at the instance of individuals, juridical entities or of government.

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